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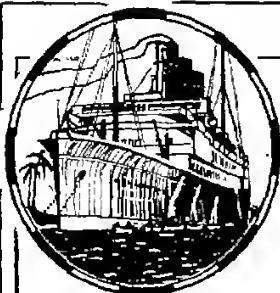
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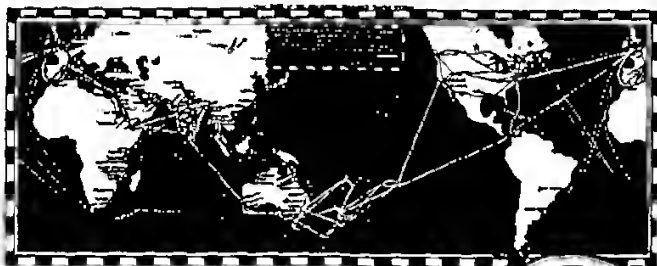
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THE REBELLION IN INDIA

BY SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.

If the telegrams are correct, the main causes and the horrible results of the Moplah rebellion are equally apparent. It is important to see the causes in correct perspective.

The year 1920 was a very severe test for the people and for the Government of India. The existing régime was moribund. Its successor had been chosen and proclaimed, but could not come into force until January, 1921. The public mind was unsettled, and was here and there distracted by the disastrous accompaniments and consequences of the sittings of the Hunter Committee, by the Dyer controversy, by the energies of the Khilafat Conference and its close ally, the association of non-co-operators. Racial tension was vigorously exploited by these two bodies, which were united under Mr. Gandhi's banner, and professing to preach non-co-operation qualified by abstention from violence, availed themselves freely of every conceivable source of discontent and of an economic situation of growing stringency. Strikes on an unprecedented scale, encouraged by political intrigue, became increasingly frequent.

To the Indian revolutionary party, moreover, circumstances in the world outside India seemed eminently propitious; and conditions in Egypt and Ireland were, in the words of the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak, "hot and boiling." Indeed the course of events in the latter country goes far to explain the persistence and boldness of the Indian Sinn Féin party. Ever since in 1916 Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak

started their "Home Rule" League, Indian Extremists have looked increasingly to Irish affairs for inspiration.

The anxieties of the Government of India in 1920 were not confined to domestic affairs. Negotiations with Afghanistan were protracted and infructuous; Bolshevik intrigue was rampant and successful in Central Asia. From the North-West Frontier Province the Chief Commissioner reported that never since the beginning of British rule on the frontier had there been such a record of tribal lawlessness. The causes of this state of things were the recent Afghan War and the persistent intrigues of the Afghans with the tribes. Also there were general unrest, the pressure of growing populations on lands too poor to feed them, fanatical excitement arising from Turkey's participation in the war, and the reaction of political ferment in India. Thus it was that the behaviour of various tribes had necessitated punitive operations, while sullenness was evident in Peshawar and in some of the larger villages of the province. The situation called for active precautions; and the local government had appealed to the managers of the Muslim College at Peshawar to safeguard their charge from insidious political intrigue. It is evident from this summary of conditions that here, as elsewhere in India, a campaign of organized sedition was proceeding with unprecedented boldness and éclat.

The Government of India, reviewing all circumstances and prospects, aware that almost immediately the balance of power would shift to a far greater extent than was generally realized, decided on a policy which, whatever its defects might be, seemed most likely to rally to the active support of law and order the Moderate politicians on whose co-operation the fortunes of the reformed Constitution would so largely depend. That policy in effect was to take at face value the plea that the Khilafat-cum-non-co-operation movement, with its elaborate inculcation of race-hatred, enjoined abstention from violence; to tolerate it and to prosecute its votaries only when, by some mis-

chance, their efforts produced riot or bloodshed. The reproach of repression *must* be avoided. Action that smacked at all of repression was incompatible with the spirit of the times and with the dawn of a genuine parliamentary system. The stimulating influence of the reforms, the exertions of the constitutional party, might be relied on to hold the pass and meet the needs of the occasion; the duty of the Government was to watch, to offer good advice, to remedy any grievances which might furnish occasion to the preachers of non-violent revolt, and to interpose when the sticks began to fly.

It is hard to suppose that this course was adopted without serious misgivings. But circumstances, including all implied by the word "Amritsar," had placed the Government in a very difficult position. The results of their policy were soon apparent.

The Constitutional party did not fill sufficiently the rôle assigned to it. But, impelled to real and strenuous exertions, it held its own generally, and made a valuable contribution to the beginnings of healthy public life. The assaults of the non-co-operative party on schools and colleges, its boycott of the Council elections, attained very limited success. Mr. Gandhi lost much credit among sober members of the educated classes; but, fertile in expedients and supported by the Congress and the Khilafat Conference, he turned with redoubled energy to the superstitious and impressionable lower orders. Among these the chartered licence he enjoyed, his past achievements, his reputed sanctity, his asceticism, endowed him with semi-divine attributes. Reckless of consequences, persistently ignoring the character of his instruments, the poisonous lies which they disseminated, and the obvious consequences of their work, he set himself to capture the masses. In concert with the political bodies over which he reigned, he began to raise a large sum of money. The country was infested by the agents of his campaign. They exploited Muslim fanaticism and every kind of discontent. They announced the speedy

advent of a millennium, when, under the ægis of the new ruler, the foreigner would be expelled and prosperity would be universal. Their work bore speedy fruit in riots, strikes, bloodshed, and at last a wide revolt. So far as the masses are concerned, the policy of Lord Chelmsford's Government failed badly. As was pointed out later by a non-official member of the Imperial Legislative Assembly, it did not insist on the enforcement of the law of the land. Thereby it allowed the flood-gates of disorder to be opened over which in former days Governments maintained careful guard.

On December 31, 1920, the old order passed away. On January 10, 1921, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught landed at Madras with his suite. He was to inaugurate the new order; and his earnest appeals did, in fact, strike a keynote of kindness and reconciliation which has reverberated since in many hearts. They contributed largely to the general success of the first sessions of the new legislative bodies. But they did not even check the activities of Mr. Gandhi and his associates.

It is certain, however, that these men, by keeping their disciples away from the Councils, rendered these bodies a very valuable service. Moreover, by challenging the new régime with a widely proclaimed revolutionary movement, aimed at no far-distant goal, they confronted all thinking men with a crucial issue. For the new legislators there could be no blinking of facts. There were indeed individuals who attempted something of the kind, but two non-official members of the Legislative Assembly expounded the situation in forcible terms: "Whatever," said one, "the non-co-operators may say, they are determined to have a great revolution. They want *Swaraj* without British connection, which is quite a different thing from Home Rule. . . . Even if the British leave us of their own accord to-day, we shall have to call them back to-morrow. For without the British there will be chaos and anarchy in the country. Mussulmans will be fighting with Hindus, Sikhs

with Pathans, Afghans, Nepalese, and Japanese will all be on us, and our position will be the worst on the face of the earth. . . . I have seen so much trouble created by these non-co-operators in my own country that I am sick of them, and more sick of Government for giving them a free hand."

When these words were spoken in the Assembly on March 23, 1921, the Government of the Punjab had been compelled to take certain preventive measures; and what was termed by the Home member "a dangerous spirit of lawlessness" had rendered essential some increase of official vigour. Persons who were guilty of inciting to acts of lawlessness must, he said, at least be proceeded against under the ordinary law. But even this degree of energy was stigmatized by a legislator as a reversion to "a policy of force and terrorism." He was supported by two other gentlemen, and elicited a full exposition from the Home member.

Sir William Vincent was followed by the Muslim gentleman from whose speech I have quoted at length; and then came a great oration from another Indian member, some sentences of which ran as follows: "No Government worthy of the name could hear for a number of months speeches openly made to the effect that this Government is to be overthrown, this Government is to be turned out of India; money is to be collected; an army is to be raised; if there is any invasion from outside, this Government is not to be assisted. I am strongly in favour of patience and forbearance, but there must be some limit to that. I venture to point out that measures sufficient to cope with the situation should long ago have been undertaken. . . . It is impossible to assert that this movement of non-co-operation can be carried out without any violence. We know what has happened in Calcutta. The boys would not allow other students to go into the examination hall. They would not allow the examiners to enter the hall. Men like Mr. Sastri and Pandit Malaviya were assaulted. Such instances can be multiplied. Then what effect would

this propaganda have upon the uneducated people, upon the masses, upon the villagers? They simply construe that into weakness. They will be of opinion that Government have made up their mind to leave them to themselves, that they are entirely at the mercy of these persons. Open seditious meetings and lectures are given which no Government on the face of this earth can possibly tolerate. For a time it appeared as though all sections of the Penal Code which deal with such offences had been repealed. . . . So I think that Government have done the only right thing in initiating the new policy. . . . What have the actual [non-co-operation] speeches effected? How are the minds of the people being poisoned! No Government worth its salt can tolerate such a thing." •

It is clear that such sentiments commended themselves to the general sense of the Assembly, for the resolution passed approved the Government's latest policy, and did not preclude recourse to proceedings under special legislation should such become necessary. The spirit of the Assembly was, on the whole, reflected in the debates of provincial legislative bodies. These generally desired their Governments to maintain order effectively.

The Councils dissolved at the end of March. But while their non-official members seem since mainly to have rested from their labours, the leaders of the Khilafat-cum-non-co-operation movement have worked indefatigably. The Government has largely tolerated their preaching. The results have been most disastrous; and apparently the Government's long-suffering is at last worn out.

Now, we shall not understand Indian affairs unless we realize that peace and order in the great sub-continent depend principally upon the prestige of the Central Administration, upon the honour or dishonour which attaches to the British name in India. *Whatever may take the place of that prestige in future there is nothing whatever that can take its place now.* If the district and police officers, who among multitudinous millions of all castes and creeds

carry on the daily administration of the country, are regarded as the representatives of an effete Power, which may be constantly and openly derided and slandered with impunity, their tasks will become impossible. The Moplah rising, which presents marked features of its own, but is undoubtedly the result of the Gandhi-cum-Khilafat agitation, shows conclusively what may take place. The present Legislative Councils are at present islands in a vast ocean of multitudinous peoples. They form a façade. To assume that a solid fabric of responsible parliamentary government exists behind this façade is to assume what is not the case. If such a fabric is to rise gradually, the new legislators must act whole-heartedly on the excellent advice recently delivered to some of their number at Bombay by Mr. A. F. Whyte, President of the Legislative Assembly, who impressed upon his hearers that harmony between non-officials and officials on the Councils was *not* all that the situation required. The political education of the people of India would only be built up by the maintenance of close and constant touch between representatives and their constituencies, by intensive non-official propaganda of a salutary kind, by hard, unselfish labour on the part of the former. And here we approach the root of the matter. The real battle of the future will be won or lost among the masses of the general population. Mr. Gandhi and his accomplices see this clearly. They are losing no time and are working hard. They have collected some hundred thousand pounds for the financing of their campaign. What have the constitutionalists done? Are they working hard? Have they collected money? Are they in districts and cities, by press and platform, combating strenuously the efforts of the paid agitators who on July 12 last were denounced by a British member of the Bengal Legislative Council as "cold-blooded murderers and a menace to society"? If they are, Mr. Whyte's advice is superfluous. If they are not, we shall gain nothing by imagining that they are. Let us hope at any rate that

they are making substantial beginnings. The need is urgent. But if they are doing little, we must recognize that when once Mr. Gandhi and his principal coadjutors began their intensive campaign among the masses, and the Government of India still accepted the hypocritical plea that non-violence was inculcated, the burden that fell on the Moderates was one that only a great leader of men could have sustained.

The Moplah rebellion is the last of three recent warnings. The first was the Arrah riots, which occurred in October, 1917, and have been described by me elsewhere. They consisted of fierce organized attacks by Hindus on Mohammedans over a widespread area of Bihar and of days of moh ascendancy. They had been prepared with care and skill. The rioters were possessed with the idea that British rule was in the throes of dissolution.

The next warning was the riots of April, 1919, the incidents of which are well known. It was then widely believed, in the Punjab at any rate, that the war had left Great Britain weak and exhausted.

The third warning is the Moplah revolt. It has shown us the results of the deliberate and open inculcation of the combined theories that Britain is responsible for the woes of Turkey, and that British power in India is detestable and is on its deathbed.

In spite of variations of scene, method, and occasion, all these risings, as well as a number of minor incidents, have owed much inspiration to a belief that British rule in India is moribund. That belief has been a strong plank in the agitator's platform. It is true that British rule in India in the old sense is gone. But if the new British-cum-Indian rule does not contain sufficient of the old quality to add the assurance that is needed to the arguments of the Moderates and to arrest the further progress of the preachers of sedition and revolt, the Reforms are certainly doomed.

Let us hope for better things.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF JOURNALISM IN INDIA.—I

By J. A. SANDBROOK

(Editor of *The Englishman*, Calcutta.)

NEWSPAPERS have to-day become so great and essential a part of everyday life that it is difficult to believe that they are subject, more, perhaps, than other institutions, to violent fluctuations of fortune. Yet the greatest of our present-day journals have passed through many vicissitudes. In our own time newspapers that were prosperous and powerful yesterday have lost their prestige or vanished altogether, although it might have been supposed from their history and appearance that they were sufficiently well established to outlive the competition of younger rivals. Countless journals have been established, only to live for a few years, or a few weeks even, and then, in spite of great merits that must have cost the proprietors many thousands of pounds, they have vanished completely. The failures have been so many and so costly that, even in England, the production of newspapers has come to be regarded as a doubtful, if not perilous, profession, and there are comparatively few newspapers in this country that can point to a hundred years of history behind them.

The conditions of newspaper production in India are so vastly different that longevity is even more difficult of attainment to the average newspaper, and the fact that one of the leading journals of India—*The Englishman*, first called *John Bull in the East*—has at last achieved a century's existence has justly been celebrated as a remarkable event. It is remarkable in that no daily newspaper published in India has hitherto lived for so long a period. It is remarkable also because *The Englishman* to-day preserves the same independence of view and policy and

indulges in the same outspoken criticism as have characterized it during practically the whole of the hundred years that have just passed by.

India is so often regarded as a part of the unchanging East that it might be supposed that it is not difficult for a newspaper, or any other institution, to reach a venerable age there. As a matter of fact, there are few parts of the world in which changes of personnel are so violent and frequent, and there are comparatively few British mercantile firms that have been established in Calcutta for over a hundred years. In the early days of British rule it was especially difficult for newspapers which had any self-respect to gain a foothold in a country ruled by the most arbitrary officialism that could ever have been permitted to exist. But we must not be over-censorious with the officials of that day. In the early years of the nineteenth century they stood for a Government then only itself beginning to establish its influence and dominion in a strange country. They were nervous of criticism. And if in much later times it was possible to abuse the liberty of the Press, and to make a free and unfettered Press a real peril to the security of the State, how much more dangerous must have appeared to the early administrators of British India anything that tended to question their authority and undermine their prestige. It is the fashion of many people nowadays to sneer at prestige. A hundred years ago it was a very real and essential thing; and even to-day its importance in securing peaceful and orderly and efficient government cannot be over-estimated. However that may be, security a hundred years ago in India was not so common a possession of Governments or traders that newspapers which set out to criticize and censure could expect to enjoy special immunities and privileges. Journalism was, in fact, a great adventure, and, looking back over the century, one would not now have had it otherwise. Had there been no element of risk and adventure in founding and editing newspapers in India, those adventurous and

romantic spirits that laid the early foundations of the British newspaper Press in the country might never have been attracted, and instead of the vigorous, independent Press we know so well to-day, we might have had only a tame reflection of official opinions.

When *The Englishman* first saw the light as *John Bull in the East*, on July 2, 1821, the outstanding figure in Indian journalism was James Silk Buckingham, who had made the *Calcutta Journal* as popular a paper with his subscribers as it was unpopular with the officials of the Company, for whom he seems to have had very little respect. From the very first he came into conflict with the Company. He was a very remarkable man who had travelled and adventured in many parts of the world. He lost a fortune in Malta on account of plague, and he then went out to India to examine the possibilities of re-opening trade between Bombay and Egypt. In Bombay he was given command of a frigate owned by the Imam of Muscat, but he was refused permission to reside in India because he did not possess the licence of the Company—a little formality which must have been very exasperating to him. However, he obtained the licence and returned to take command of the frigate. This command apparently was supplementary to the original object of his visit to India. He went there to encourage the Pasha of Egypt to extend his intercourse with and his protection to the mercantile interests of England, for which purpose he (Buckingham) undertook to reopen the ancient canal between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. He had already, in fact, succeeded in obtaining a treaty of commerce, the three parties to which were: Mahomed Ali, as Viceroy of Egypt; Mr. Peter Lee, the British Consul, on behalf of the merchants of Egypt; and himself, on behalf of the merchants of India. It will thus be seen that as far back as 1816, more than fifty years before the opening of the Suez Canal, this great project had formed itself in Buckingham's mind; and his conception of the advantages

to be derived from the canal, as well as his own efforts to promote trade and goodwill in Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and India, stamp Buckingham as a true Empire-builder. But he was not destined to proceed far with these ambitious schemes for the extension of British trade and influence. In the course of his career as commander of the *Imam of Muscat's* frigate, he went round to Calcutta in June, 1818. There he received orders to proceed to Madagascar to convoy the vessels conveying slaves to Muscat. His action was characteristic. "Such was my hostility on principle to slavery in every shape," he wrote, "that though my command was then yielding me an income of £4,000 a year, and though my predecessor had made a fortune of £30,000 in three voyages, I resigned the command without a moment's hesitation, rather than even indirectly give my countenance to a traffic which I abhorred."

Such a character appealed to the merchants of Calcutta—as all independent and outspoken men have at all times in the history of that great city. When they heard the circumstances they approached Buckingham and asked him to undertake the editorship and management of a public journal. At the time there were five or six different journals in Calcutta, but each was conducted by an editor who was in the service of the Government, and wholly subject to Government control. The merchants felt keenly the want of some independent organ in which they could air their own views, and call in question the various decrees and regulations and orders which affected their own peculiar interests. Buckingham seemed the very man to undertake the new venture. A sum of Rs.30,000 was subscribed by thirty merchants, and on October 1, 1818, the *Calcutta Journal* was established. Its success must have been remarkable. Buckingham boasted that in three months he had repaid the whole of the Rs.30,000. "I believe," he added, "that the history of newspapers throughout the world presents no parallel instance of success at once so rapid, so solid, and so brilliant."

Buckingham's success, unfortunately for him, was not to the liking of the Government of the day, and some five years later, after many a little storm with the Government, Buckingham's licence to reside in India was withdrawn and his paper ceased to exist.

The Press at that time was subject to many irritating restraints. From the time of Lord Wellesley up to that of Lord Hastings the practice had been for the Chief Secretary to the Government to act as censor of the Press, and every editor of a newspaper was obliged to send his proof-sheets to the Secretary's office to be read there before they could be printed and published. If the editors refused to comply the remedy was swift and drastic. Their licence to reside in India was withdrawn, and they simply had to leave. In course of time, however, it was discovered that this threat was of no avail against an editor born in India, and there were one or two men in those days who would have led the somewhat sensitive officials a pretty dance had they interfered unduly with their liberties of expression. The anomaly was so patent that Lord Hastings withdrew the censorship and proclaimed the Press of India to be free. But it was a limited freedom after all. The members of Council, brought up in the prejudice of the old despotic system of control, had qualms against an absolutely free Press, so in August, 1818, certain regulations were issued which prohibited the publication of comments on various specified subjects. The validity of these regulations is open to question. Anyhow, they did not deter Buckingham, who, in course of time, became a thorn in the flesh of the Company's officials. Probably the rise and success of this new journal, which, in the pursuit of free expression, often went beyond the limits of fairness and discretion, led officials of the Company to think of the possibilities of a successful rival paper. In 1821 *John Bull in the East* was projected. Ostensibly it was "to counteract mischievous Radical writings and to be the depository of the best Tory traditions." The names of its founders were

not made public, but a search in the Government records of the day reveals the fact that its earliest sponsors were undoubtedly Government men. There was John Pascal Larkins, a senior mercant of very fine character, at one time officiating Grand Master in Masonry in India. There was Captain John Trotter, keeper of the import warehouses. The editor was nominally, if not actually, James Mackenzie, also a Company servant. Somewhere in the background, possibly as moving spirit in the enterprise—certainly as contributor—was that irrepressible publicist, the Rev. James Bryce, who had come to Calcutta as head of the Presbyterian Establishment in India, and who remained for some years the foremost, and perhaps the hithermost, controversialist of his time.

With Buckingham in one camp and Bryce in another, it was not to be expected that either the *Calcutta Journal* or *John Bull* could conform to the irritating formalities of rules of doubtful validity. In their criticisms neither the sacred persons of the Company's servants nor anything else that was sacred in Tory or Radical eyes was spared. The Company records of the period are full of complaints, frequently frivolous enough, of articles and criticisms that should not have been printed. We need not go at length into the quarrels of the rival editors and newspapers. But one or two are worth referring to, since they had a determining effect upon Buckingham's career. Buckingham was involved in at least one duel, because he had condemned the appointment of Dr. Jamieson, well known as a writer in *John Bull*, as Superintendent of the School for Native Doctors. Jamieson thought the offence so heinous that he appealed to Lord Hastings to deport Buckingham. Lord Hastings recommended Jamieson to take action at law. The alternative chosen was one of those farcical duels. To criticize Jamieson was one thing. To criticize Bryce was another. Bryce received an appointment—delightfully reminiscent of the war-time extravagances of England—as "clerk for the supply of stationery to the public depart-

ments of Government." The job was worth £700 or £800 a year. Buckingham poked quiet but devastating fun at it. The duties of such an office, he urged, were incompatible with a due discharge of the reverend gentleman's sacred functions. To Buckingham the criticism was a costly one. It was the last straw to a long-suffering officialism. His licence was withdrawn, and Buckingham was compelled to leave India. It was of no avail to him that this particular criticism was concurred in by the Board of Control and Bryce's appointment annulled. The Government was relentless. Once Buckingham was out of the country it did not want him back again. He was too strenuous a critic. A short while after his deportation the further appearance of his paper was forbidden because it had reprinted a pamphlet, published in England by the Hon. Leicester Stanhope, on the subject of a Free Press in British India. No subject was more offensive to the Government of the day. Not one, but all the papers, including *John Bull*, were forbidden even to refer to it, and the drastic penalty imposed upon Buckingham was a sufficient warning against transgression. Buckingham's loss was certainly severe. At the time it was suppressed the *Journal* yielded him an income of between £6,000 and £8,000 a year, and the market value of the property was estimated at £40,000 sterling. A few years later Buckingham sought redress in England. He claimed £50,000 damages, but the case failed because the Directors of the Company could not be brought to book in a court of law. The subject was debated in Parliament, and Buckingham found stout defenders in Lord Durham, Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Denman, Mr. Hume, and Lord John Russell. Some of the phrases used to describe the action of the Company were: "The most cruel oppression and the grossest tyranny"; "unmerited and almost unparalleled cruelty"; "one of the most cruel, oppressive, and unjustifiable acts ever known to be committed by a British Governor in the history of the colonies, had as they are." Finally the case went before a Select

Committee of the House of Commons, and by way of compensation Buckingham was awarded a pension by the Company.

The figures given above are interesting as showing the value of newspaper properties in India a hundred years ago. Generally speaking, the value was greater than the security of the times warranted, and in the main it must have consisted of goodwill, for plant and machinery and type in those days were not considerable. The hand presses and the fonts of hand-setting types were not to be compared with the expensive rotary presses and linotype machines that make up the equipment of the modern Anglo-Indian newspaper.

Naturally, Buckingham's loss was his rivals' gain, and although the copyright of the *Journal* was sold to the proprietor of the *Hurkaru*, there is reason to believe that, eventually, *John Bull* was the great gainer through the suppression of the *Journal*. The time had come when the Company was forced to prevent its servants indulging in newspaper enterprise. That the Company should constantly be criticized and condemned in the public Press by its own servants had become an intolerable scandal, and in 1823 new regulations were enacted requiring the printers and editors of newspapers to apply for licences. Particular pains were then taken by the Company to see that none of its servants was interested in newspapers, and the Secretary to Government was especially careful to deprive the irrepressible Bryce of any interest in the periodicals he had used with a good deal more venom and prejudice than discretion.

Under these new regulations we find *John Bull* passing under independent management. The figures are not available, but there is no doubt that the new proprietors paid a considerable sum for the property, and they were very anxious at any delay in the granting of the annually-applied-for licences. *John Bull* was in 1823 one of some fourteen daily and weekly journals—English, Persian, and

Vernacular—that were registered in Calcutta. Not one of its contemporaries survives ; but *John Bull*, which changed its name ten years later to *The Englishman*, began to grow in influence and prosperity, and in spite of the heavy blow struck at the freedom of the Press by the suppression of the *Journal* and the deportation of Buckingham, it began, even in those times, to establish that reputation for outspoken independence that has belonged to it ever since.

(To be continued.)

CHINA UNDER THE REPUBLIC

BY B. LENOX SIMPSON

(Adviser to the Chinese Government.)

THE chief point to remember at the present moment is that a thick line must be drawn through Chinese history after the year 1911, which is as momentous a date for the Chinese people as 1914 is in British history. I find there is an extraordinary amount of ignorance and misunderstanding in England concerning the gulf which separates republican China from the classical Empire known to so many generations of readers. There seems to be a belief that what has taken place is unreal, and that China beneath the surface is still the same country as existed for three thousand years prior to the revolution. No error could be more fatal. The modifications which have taken place already are of the most startling character, affecting men, women, and children alike, and definitely banishing the old days. For while a provincial kind of militarism seems the most noticeable feature to Europeans, who are as a general rule only casual observers, this is merely "window-dressing," serving to disguise what is really going on within the deep recesses of the country.

There is not only a new spirit abroad, but remarkable physical changes are becoming more and more noticeable. Englishmen who left China to go to the war, and have since returned, are overwhelmed with a surprise which seems to deepen rather than lessen day by day if they are reflective men. It is a well-proved fact that the Chinese have been so speeded up that they walk faster and act more quickly than they did ten years ago, and look different. This is noticeable, not only in the great cities, but even in the most distant provinces. As education turns out each year hundreds of thousands of young men and women who

have digested the lesson of their country's fateful change, this symptom becomes ever more marked. It is thus true to say that the Chinese have not only slammed the door on their past, but are well down the roadway to a new and far more magnificent mansion.

What is it they want? Primarily they require that due consideration be given to certain plans they have framed to reform their country; and that the attitude which has come down from early Treaty days of treating them not very seriously be completely abandoned. Let us take a concrete case so as to make our meaning clear. China requires vast sums to be expended in order to modernize her communications and to build at least twenty thousand miles of railways during the next twenty years. Putting the capital expenditure at the smallest possible figure, this means the expenditure of three or four hundred million pounds. How are such vast sums to be raised, and who is to raise them? The principal trading Powers have seemingly answered the question by forming a Consortium or a Banking Group which comprises five nationalities, and which is prepared to lend money to prosecute these schemes on certain terms. What are those terms? When one commences to see exactly the nature of the control which has been demanded, one at once discovers that it is something more than a mere supervision of expenditure and accounting of annual income that the trading nations are after. Irrespective of China's wishes, they lay down a definite plan regarding the whole Chinese railway system which they say must be adopted if the Chinese really desire to secure accommodation on a wholesale scale. They wish, in fact, to form a giant railway trust of Chinese railways, disregarding the fact that the five thousand miles of railways which are already in existence are operated as a Chinese Government system and produce very large surpluses. The Consortium argue that they can do much better, but surely this is a matter in which the inhabitants of the country should have the first say and not

the aliens. It is things of this nature which tend to keep alive suspicion and animosity in Asia, when a little more give and take would very rapidly bring about confidence and good feeling. It must also not be lost sight of that experience in the past has shown that it is not good for commerce and politics to be mixed, because, when they are, corruption and privilege always flourish. So far from foreign intervention in such matters proving economical, experience has shown that European control of any sort means an immense increase of the permanent overhead charges which become far more formidable than the petty losses made by a somewhat lax domestic control.

What is therefore wanted is an acceptance of reasonable Chinese arguments and an admission that the inhabitants of the country have far more at stake than people who at best are there temporarily, merely in order to assist development. The same argument holds true all through modern Chinese life. It is a fact which has been well established by experience that the more responsibilities you give people, the better their conduct tends to become. The cure for irresponsibility is, therefore, increased responsibility and not the setting up of costly schemes of control which, because they attempt to go against the laws of nature—*anglice* the natural tendencies of man—invariably fail in the long run.

Given a change of heart in such matters, the prospect which opens up before the Chinese people is practically limitless. They bring to the new régime under the republic their old capacity for work, their sobriety and their honesty, all of which are reinforced by immense supplies of food-stuffs and raw materials. It would seem, then, to be merely a question of common-sense and the adoption of the right principles for such an outburst of energy to be witnessed during the lifetime of the present generation, that China will really contribute in a most material way to wiping out the ill-effects of the world-war. It has been calculated that if the immense amount of labour which

is now expended in physical work of an unnecessary and unremunerative nature, such as hauling loads along roads, tracking vessels, and generally making man play the part of machinery, were dispensed with and mechanical aids introduced, China would have at least 30 or 40 million men available to put into new forms of energy. A famous engineer in China has calculated that the muscle-power which is still expended annually by the hard-working population of 450 millions in unnecessary tasks is equal to the energy of 200 million tons of coal a year.

China's present coal output is still well under 50 million tons a year; therefore, until her output begins to approach the British output of 250 million tons, it can be taken for granted that the energy of her men is being uselessly expended on tasks which can be far more economically performed by fuel and machinery. It is also a fact that the biggest crop in the country to-day is the giant millet (*kaoliang*), which is estimated at something like 80 million tons a year, mainly used as cattle feed. If all the vast area now monopolized by this crop were put under wheat, the amount of flour for export would alone be sufficient to pay off immense war debts and feed countless millions of men. We must thus admit that although the men of China have changed and have new ideals, the basis of the life of the country has not been as much modified as it might have been had there been better guidance from friendly foreign Powers. It is true that China has now a hundred cotton mills and as many modern flour mills; but these, like the modest 5,000-mile railway system, only represent a beginning. The real work has yet to be performed. When China really gets under way the present totals will have to be multiplied by ten, and even then will not disclose the immense natural force in the country.

In politics it is much the same story. We have only as yet got a sketch of what the country needs and nothing more. Parliamentary ideals have been not only accepted, but recognized as absolutely essential to give the country good govern-

ment; but inasmuch as the first Parliaments have led to conflict and grave disasters, owing to the unsolved problem of centralizing political control, it is believed very generally that China will have to devise something in the nature of extended provincial government which will be akin to the British Dominion Home Rule. That is to say, it will be necessary for the country to make up its mind as to what powers should be reserved for a central authority which will represent the nation, and what powers must be left to the provinces, which, it should be remembered, are in many cases very vast areas containing from 30 to 40 million people, and having their own peculiarities due to geographical and historical reasons.

The Separatist Government formed in Canton under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat Sen is a case in point. Canton Province has always been very advanced in its ideas, and has always aspired to a moral leadership which Northern China has not taken to very kindly. But experience, which is the best schoolmaster in the world, is slowly teaching the people that they must tolerate their differences and not see in men who think differently bitter rivals and enemies.

It is now generally believed that if the Washington Conference gives China and Chinese ideas a proper hearing, the ground-work for a general compromise which will erect a stable Government will be laid, and we shall see for the first time in the history of Asia a workable plan for the government of a whole nation by popular will.

With the inherent law-abiding properties so characteristic in the Chinese people, with their energy and thrift, it is not too much to hope that once the ground plan has been securely laid, we shall see this great nation restored to its old proud position of leadership which it exercised in the dim past throughout Asia, and which has done so much to give neighbouring peoples their civilization and culture and ideals.

The growth of a great vernacular press of more than a

thousand newspapers is a remarkable symptom. The exhaustive reports they publish on foreign affairs are teaching men their international duties. The great progress made in native banking is another praiseworthy feature. China will soon have a unified currency which will greatly assist trade. Inter-provincial taxation is sure to be abolished within two or three years. By 1924, if not sooner, a Chinese boom is certain to come which will find all the world rushing in to claim a share in new sources of wealth. The Republic in China stands for progress and self-government ; it will materially assist the cause of happiness all the world over.

RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY NAOTARO MURAKAMI

(*Editor of the "Yorozu" of Tokyo.*)

"No blacker cloud pregnant with future storm has ever threatened the Pacific sky than that which darkens it at the present moment. And the slightest irritation may lead to an armed conflict between Japan and the United States of America." Nothing is more absurd, ridiculous, and mischievous than that sort of assertion based on a total misconception of the real situation. Let me try to unmask the monstrous creatures which threaten to disturb the calm seas of the Pacific.

We can count five of these ugly problems which are generally believed to have been threatening our historical good relations between Japan and America. The immigration question stands undoubtedly first. On various good grounds—political, social, as well as economical—the American people as a whole have an aversion to the Asiatic immigration upon their fertile soil, richly endowed by Providence. And for more than the last ten years not a session of the Californian Legislature has been closed without an introduction of one or more Bills of an anti-Japanese character. We fully realize their situation as well as ours. It is well known and a well-proved fact that the Japanese Government have faithfully and honourably been observing the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement, by which they are bound to issue passports only to non-labourers, settled agriculturists, former residents and parents, wives or children of former residents. This limitation and control on the part of the Japanese Government has effectively been exerted until this very day, and

is bearing a very good fruit, satisfactory to both Japan and America. We have every reason to believe that the wise and far-sighted American statesmen, who realize the difficulty on the part of the Japanese people to endure an unjust and obnoxious discrimination, will work out, with the full and frank co-operation of the Japanese Government, a formula which assures a fair and equal treatment to our able and intelligent nation.

The Chinese question comes next. At the present moment no one can deny that this is a bone of contention between Japan and America. But let me ask a few questions. Are the policies pursued by the two Governments towards China irreconcilable? Are the interests possessed by the two Governments and their peoples in China incompatible? Our interests in China are vital to our national existence, but are they equally vital to the existence of the American Republic? We have repeatedly assured to the world and firmly adhered to the principle of the maintenance of the territorial integrity of China and of the open door and equal opportunities in China. We have always lent a ready hand for the assistance of Chinese people and their Government in the development of her natural resources. It is a pity that the American Senate could not approve what Japan had secured at the Paris Conference, in which the powerful spokesmen of the American people—President Wilson and Mr. Lansing—had the most influential voice. Yet we cannot help admiring the disinterested attitude on the part of the American Senate towards China. As soon as our national consensus of opinion can be obtained, the Shantung problem at least—the chief one—will satisfactorily be settled by direct negotiations between China and Japan.

The Yap question comes next. What is Yap? It is a mere speck on the vast ocean of the Southern Pacific, with little natural resources. By the explicit provisions of the League Covenant, Yap is not allowed to be fortified nor to be used as a naval base. Indeed, three lines of

submarine cables are landed there; but the disposition of these cables will easily be settled between the parties concerned by negotiations, not by force of arms. It seems not to be fair to ask Japan to abandon all or the greater part of the fruits of her victory. Yet our claim to Yap is not so much based on its economic value as on our national honour. The Japanese Press are still circulating news and entertaining apprehensions regarding the fortifications by the American Government of Guam Island, not far from Yap, the Philippine, and the Hawaiian Islands. I earnestly hope that the news will prove to be false. Yap is not worth while to be an object of a sanguinary contest between two friends.

The Siberian question comes next. If ever there has been anybody who thinks that Japan has any intention to avail herself of the present chaotic condition of Russia to her interests, that man is totally ignorant of, and blind to, the national character of Japanese people. We had several good chances during the war if we had ever desired to exploit Russia in her unfortunate fate. I hope and believe that the Japanese Government will withdraw her troops from the Russian territories as soon as the circumstances of internal politics permit it. It will be in the not distant future. No one can seriously think that the question regarding the joint control of the Russian Far-Eastern railways will become a seed of controversy between Japan and America.

The Korean question comes last. You may well wonder why this can be called a question between Japan and the United States of America. The truth is that a number of American missionaries, who had settled there long before the annexation was effected, have, generally speaking, a sort of sympathy with the Korean nationalists, or at least with those Koreans who are demanding a more liberal administration on the part of the Japanese Government in Korea. This is why the Korean question is often compared with the Irish problem. Anyhow, this is indisputably

a domestic problem, in which the traditional policy of America would refrain to interfere.

Viewed in this light, I cannot but conclude that any one of these problems or the combination of them all is unlikely to become the so-called *casus belli* between the two friendly Powers whose historical good relations can be dated back to the first opening of the Japanese door to the world. It is very interesting to notice, and it is idle to deny, that these five problems are all reflections of the Japanese expansion on the Pacific and on the Asiatic continent, and the American people seem to be ordained to play the part of checking those expansions of the Japanese nation.

It is to be fervently and earnestly hoped that the present irritated relations between Japan and America will prove to be only transient clouds, soon to pass away, and make the sky brighter than it has ever been before.

PALESTINE : THE LAND OF THE PAST AND THE FUTURE

BY MARY MOND

1. *Out of Egypt to Jerusalem*

IT is at Kantara that the change begins slowly to dawn. Egypt, the land of flesh-pots, set like an emerald in the golden desert, seems left an infinite distance behind by the crossing of the narrow Suez Canal. At the squalid Customs House of Kantara the first sign of Judaism emerges in the slim figures of a few Palestinian Jews returning to Jerusalem. They stand grouped together, a patch of dark colour in their narrow black coats, their broad hats shading finely-cut features in pale faces, softened a little by the two silky brown curls that hang on either cheek. A pair of blue eyes raised, unseeing and absorbed, have the inscrutable depths of mysticism and faith. Faith—that is the keynote of the Jewish spirit, which finds expression in the breaking of stones on the roads of Galilee, and drives men to a leadership of an almost desperate cause. Yet their hope does not seem unfounded when the express from Kantara slips out of the El-Arish desert into the fertile coast-land. The land is cultivated sparsely enough. It is Arab cultivation, and the Arab is to be seen here and there ploughing with a donkey or ox or camel and his primitive wooden plough. His method scarcely turns the soil, but he seems to get good results from his crops, though, of course, he supplies only minimum needs. It is difficult as yet to come to a definite conclusion as to the relative values of this method and that deeper ploughing introduced from the West by the Jews. But the superiority of the Jewish cultivation is made clear when the first colony, Rehoboth, is passed. It is an independent growth

created by the immigrants' own efforts, and stands like an oasis in the desert. Here are whitewashed farmhouses, with red-tiled roofs, nestling in the midst of eucalyptus groves, vineyards, almond groves, orchards golden with oranges, high hedges of mimosa, low partitions of cactus—a true Garden of Eden—and they have learnt here to tie down the ever-advancing sand dunes. There are miles of land encroached upon and buried by the sand, which would be fertile if they could be reclaimed.

From the railway junction of Ramleh a good motor road runs right across the Philistine plains up into Judæa, and so into Jerusalem. Both the Plains of Sarona and Aialon are under Arab cultivation, and the ground belongs to big Arab landowners. In January the earth is fresh with young green crops, and the uncultivated hillocks riotous with scarlet anemones. Between the plains, on rising ground, is perched an Arab village, the mud huts huddled close together with the usual "climbing" effect.

A small inn kept by Jews marks the entrance to the gorge which runs up into the Judæan hills, Bab el Wad—the Gates of the Valley. The road becomes then a steep ascent between purple hills, the lower slopes silver with olive-trees, and here and there an Arab shepherd pastures a flock of black goats. A great country for brigands, these sheer wild hills and valleys, where at night the jackal slinks along the road, his eyes gleaming in the sharp-cut moonlight, and an occasional camel caravan, or single camel traveller, creeps forward, now silhouetted against the sky, now lost in the turn of some valley.

On the topmost ridges the Philistine plains can be seen, stretching like a vast swelling lake, and beyond them is the flashing rim of the sea. The sudden glimpse brings into one's mind the cry of Xenophon's soldiers: "*θάλασσα! θάλασσα!*"

On this coast road to Jerusalem there are a couple of small Jewish colonies, living at close quarters with the Arab villages. One of the newest, Dilb, is a real pioneer

settlement. Its workers, for the most part from Russia and the Ukraine, are of all sorts and classes—students, doctors, peasants. They have built wooden huts, in which they live. The women, both here and working on the roads, seem in better health than the men, broad-shouldered, stout and strong. Some of the boys look pale and thin, some of the men wear glasses, and pinched features still bear obvious marks of scholarship. The huts are divided into sleeping cells, small, clean, furnished with bare necessities. A common dining-room and kitchen, worked by the women in regular shifts, completes the settlement. These new *laboueurs de terre* and stone-breakers form an interesting experiment. They come in from the fields at noonday, carrying picks, shovels, and spades, brown with the sun, shining with sweat, laughing and singing, and if you care to glance on the shelves or tables near their beds you will discover books of philosophy, metaphysics, classics. An intellectual peasantry! Ideal, if in the nature of things it can be expected to last.

The directors of Dilb are experimenting in a process of terracing the stony hills of Judæa. Vegetables are being planted; figs, peaches, strawberries are to be grown; the vine cultivated; and the hillside should be transformed into the pleasant fruitfulness of Italy. If the experiment succeeds, there are miles of waste hills ready to undergo the same process, provided the land can be procured, and there is money to procure it. It all sounds possible when it is remembered that the Judæan hills were originally thickly forested, and are arid now only because the Turks cut down timber without troubling to replant. The same story may be read farther north. Mount Carmel, once "the Vineyard of God," has become a desert, and a small body of Jewish immigrants is now busy in afforestation and the replanting of vines.

There must needs be a tremor of excitement in climbing the last piece of road which discovers Jerusalem embedded among the hills. The right of the road is walled by high

rocks ; on the left, a steep valley runs down to the river-bed to disclose more rounded hills stretching beyond.

A first glimpse of the city is not impressive. Outside the heart of the town, which is enclosed within the old walls, the cosmopolitan architecture is unattractive. Unwieldy Teutonic buildings that are Government offices, and hospitals built by the Italians and the French, are overlooked by the Mount of Olives, on which is situated a Russian church. The long streets are bordered with inconspicuous houses, the usual small shops and cafés. The roads are not good, and often foully muddy. To appreciate Jerusalem it is best to mount the hill behind it, and to look down from the road that runs up to Government House, standing almost on the site of the future Hebrew University. Seen thence, the lines of the city against a sunset sky, fading into a purple night hung with stars, have power to cast a magic spell. Ugliness and incongruity melt into the last glimpse of the Mosque of Omar and the curved line of Herod's ancient wall. From the point of view of the new Palestine—that is, of the Palestine growing under the Jewish immigrants—Jerusalem is the least alive of the cities. Here the Palestinian Jew is to be seen walking the streets on a Sabbath in his close fur cap and decorative flowing robes, or praying at the Wailing Wall. This costume adds not a little to the picturesqueness of the streets of Jerusalem, but it is a national dress that has adapted itself to the climate and conditions of Poland and Russia, and has been brought from the Jewish communities in those countries. It is therefore not well suited to the climate of Palestine, and is not worn by the young generation of Halutzim (immigrants-pioneers), who are doing the spadework for the Jewish national home. There arises, in these circumstances, among the smaller details put before the Zionist organization, the question of a general national costume.

As it is not in Jerusalem that the external signs of the growing Jewish community must be sought, so perhaps in

Jerusalem the division between Jews and Arabs is less sharply defined than elsewhere. To one who walks through the bazaar in David Street, the sellers in the booths seem, at first, to be without exception Arabs, but a second glance reveals a large percentage of Hebrews, squatting next the Arabs, and almost indistinguishable from them. These are Jews that have dribbled into Palestine, not men come in upon the crest of a spirited immigration. They are inhabitants of some generations standing, and, like the Jemenite Jews, have to a certain degree become assimilated. Is this to be the general fate of Jews emigrating to Palestine? It seems unlikely, for even in the older colonies the second and third generations are finely grown, intelligent, and spirited young people, almost a different race from the ghetto grandparents living in the same house.

If the active growth and fruits of Judaism are not to be found in Jerusalem, it is there at least that all the machinery for promoting the growth is centred. The Zionist Commission arranges for immigration and the reception of immigrants, directs the growth of the schools and hospitals, makes experiments in agriculture and afforestation, and controls public works of various kinds. Under their auspices is a School of Arts and Crafts in the city, where young Hebrews, who made to themselves no images, can be found busily employed in sculpture and painting, silver work and filigree, executed with considerable skill. And here, again, are the buildings of the Agricultural Research and Exposition Department, an institution of great value, which seeks to discover the fruits, vegetables, flowers, and trees most suitable to the climate, both those indigenous and those which can be imported and grown successfully. Meanwhile a museum, lucidly arranged for the use of students, has been formed to exhibit results. A young farmer is thus given an opportunity to realize the extensive possibilities of his work, to investigate, for example, fourteen varieties of figs, thirty-

five kinds of grapes, of which some are imported from Spain and Italy, honey from orange-blossom and wild thyme, peaches and apricots, both indigenous to the country, and, among other fruits, oranges, mandarins, pomegranates, lemons, and almonds.

In this sphere alone lies a great source of wealth if cultivation is extensively enough carried out and harbours with transport facilities offer an outlet. But the museum is not restricted to examples of fruits and cereals: it displays flowers and trees, and provides an almost complete exhibition of the native birds and fauna. Here the growing youth of Palestine may be taught to make their land flow once more with milk and honey.

The academic spirit of the museum is gathered up in the ideal of a great Hebrew University of Jerusalem, still, perhaps, a castle in the air; but the chosen site on the hill above the city is already procured and a rough outline of a research scheme already set on paper. The materialization of this project is a matter of time and money. It raises once more the ever recurrent problem in a country where everything is still to do—the problem of what must be done to-day and what may, with infinite regret, be postponed until to-morrow. The power of such an institution as the University to embody and keep alive the present ideals and spirit of new Palestine is unquestionable. It would be of immense value. Yet agricultural labourers are more in request than students. Perhaps an approach is, of necessity, being made to a partial deintellectualization of the Jew. At present the would-be students of such a University are breaking stones for road-making and are cultivating the land of the colonies.

2. The Colonies and Cities of the Coast

The supreme charm of Palestine is the immense variety of climate and scenery within an area smaller than Wales. From the crisp, cold air of the Judæan bills it is a couple of hours' motor run into the port of Jaffa, into warm sunshine

and golden sands, mimosa hedges, roses, and ripe orange groves. This strip of coast-land holds the most flourishing and prosperous of the Jewish colonies, savouring, perhaps, too much of the Garden City, and exhibiting a tendency towards the easy acceptance of "spoon-feeding." These colonies, nevertheless, have fine results to show, and fill the heart of the Utopian idealist with a desire to see them occupying every fertile square mile of Palestine.

There is an abundance and a well-being among these people that is not to be found among the leaner and hard-worked Halutzim, but even here the growing generation of young men and women is full of the restless activity that makes for progress, and a keenness for "the cause" that is the stable foundation of all Zionism. Life has developed for them into a rural routine centred particularly in the synagogue and the school, but it is more than that. The cleanness of every neat farmhouse, the planting of every fruit-grove and field, the very sandy freshness of the streets, has risen under their hands, and has developed into the especial pride and the especial care of the whole community. It is a crowd of healthy-looking children, happy men and women, and contented old people that greets you whole-heartedly in Richon le Zion—"First in Zion,"—the oldest of the Rothschild colonies. It is with a communal pride that they show you round, and, above all, bid you taste of the wine of their famous cellar. Richon specializes in vineyards and has the largest wine manufacture, with an export trade limited, of course, by the still undeveloped state of transport facilities. Rehoboth, which has already been mentioned, lies near to Richon, and presents the same satisfactory aspect, but in this case the colonists have not had the financial "rock" of Rothschild upon which to build, and have had to foster an independent development. In a way, it is even more pleasant than Richon, and after faring excellently well on a farmhouse lunch one can imagine no pleasanter spot to amuse oneself in for ever and a day.

The most convincing experience of the possibilities of the development of the Jewish race from a physical standpoint was furnished by the colony of Petach Tikvah. There we were greeted by a guard of honour—twenty young men on horseback. Their Arab ponies were all good, with one or two real beauties, and their horsemanship would have held place in competition with the best. Here, in three generations, from meagre formed grandparents, bent with the stoop of the ghetto, had developed tall, bronzed, straight-limbed, good-looking young men, frank in their laugh and their speech, quick of mind and athletic of body.

In glancing over all the colonies and all the newer Zionist institutions, one very important factor is particularly noticeable. It must be kept in mind that these are people gathered, and gathering in, from all the four corners of the world, with different languages and different national customs. Here the difference between race and nationality may be closely examined. A Russian Jew is as much Russian as an English Jew is English or an American Jew American. They have all absorbed the characteristics of the nations in which they have lived for generations. The Slavonic temperament of the Russian Jew, full of imagination and impractical idealism, lacks the characteristics of common sense and organizing power belonging to the English Jew; yet, despite this Babel of nationalities, there are current racial distinctions and feelings which are purely Jewish, which are common to all Jews of whatsoever country, and which act as a bond amongst them when they are brought together once more as a race with common sentiments and ideas, ready to suffer and work for each other and for the good of their cause.

The most important factor in binding people together, and in stabilizing so diversified a race as the Jewish race has become, is the factor of language. The wisest and most indisputable act of the Zionist organizations was the immediate establishment of Hebrew as the national language

of the new Jewish home, the ousting of the jargon of Yiddish, and the creation of an immense enthusiasm for the revival of the ancient language. Hebrew is now generally spoken among the Jews, although it has meant learning a new language for the older people, who are still apt to speak Yiddish amongst themselves: but with their children even these speak Hebrew, which is now the mother-tongue of every Jewish infant in Palestine. At a mass meeting in Palestine you hear the cry, "Ivrith!" (Hebrew) if the speaker attempts to address the crowd in any other language. To realize the magnitude of the achievement of which this fact is a symbol, it is only necessary to attend the same kind of meeting in the East End of London. There the audience can hardly understand, and certainly is not able to speak, Hebrew, and will cry for the speaker to address it in Yiddish.

The district round about Jaffa cannot be dismissed without mention of Mikweh, the agricultural college founded by French Zionists. Under ideal conditions—for it is a delightful spot where one can sit in the shade of a eucalyptus grove and quench one's thirst on huge oranges (the best in Palestine) brought still on their branches and glowing among their green leaves—young men and boys are trained for three years in all branches of agriculture. The boys can be seen in the fields learning to plough under the instructors. The form of plough is adapted from the Arab, for the efficiency of Arab cultivation is carefully studied, and its methods improved upon, it being realized that an indigenous people usually know intuitively what is best for their land. Other boys are to be seen working in the gardens and among the plantations of young trees, but half the college is at theoretical work in the school, while the other half works on the land. Cows stand in the stables, and rows of bee-hives produce the fragrant and delicious honey.

In the centre of this district is Jaffa, the most alive and the busiest town of Palestine. It possesses a good natural harbour, but Haifa, which is even more fortunate in this

respect, stands rival a little farther north. Port projects are making progress in both towns. Jaffa is, however, far more central, and the obvious port for Jerusalem. It holds now any traffic that comes to Palestine, and is the port of immigration. In the immigrants' quarter of this town the Halutzim can be inspected in the condition in which they reach the country, for the most part in rags and half-starving. Here they remain, eating out their hearts for work, until a job can be found them. They are classified by the doctor into three groups, according to the kind and amount of work which the condition of their health permits, and those who are able get temporary jobs in the town while they are waiting to be detailed to other work. The Government has set up immigration camps, and the Zionist Organization has gone into the matter whole-heartedly and efficiently. Moreover, the latter run it at lower cost, because they can obtain voluntary work from the Jewish quarter of the town. But in this matter, as in some others, the Government and the Zionist Organization are apt to overlap, and cause, by their overlapping, a waste of expenditure and time. Jaffa is itself a small town, but in the last ten years the remarkably rapid growth of the Jewish quarter, Tel-Aviv, has enabled it almost to double its size. The energy and enthusiasm which have brought into being in so short a time wide streets, well-built houses and gardens, growing, as it were, actually out of the sand, is bard to realize. A walk to the end of a well-paved street of Tel-Aviv reveals the transformation in progress. Here are houses still in course of building. The street turns abruptly into a road of sand, and from the dunes out of which the little city is springing rise the howls of lurking jackals.

The centre of Tel-Aviv and its great pride is the High School, founded in 1909. An excellent building, with high, airy classrooms and long verandah corridors opening on to a square yard, it is a combined Preparatory and High School. This means that the children of both sexes are

entirely educated between the ages of six and eighteen in the same building. The equivalent of boy scouts and girl guides is in full swing, and the physique and drilling of the children are good evidences of the system's success.

Haifa is a very different town, far more picturesque, and climbing from the sea on to the lower slopes of Mount Carmel. It is less modernized and less subject to Jewish influence. The Jewish houses are beginning to grow on the higher ground just above the main part of the city, but as yet they are few. One large building, the Technical School, has been begun by the Jews. It stands at present still unfinished for lack of funds, and is used in part for immigrants' quarters. But the school is excellently fitted, and should form in the future the central mechanical college of Palestine.

Before considering the shepherd country of Galilee, the last coast town within the boundaries of Palestine should be mentioned. Akka or Acre, built round a huge crusading fortress, is thrust out on a headland into the sea, glimmering against the blue of the sky and the Mediterranean. It is, perhaps, the most attractive town in Palestine, because it is entirely Arab and filthy and indescribably picturesque. The bazaar, bright with fruit and vegetables under its whitewashed arcade, the narrow, twisting little streets, the austerity of the castle standing like an acropolis, lend to the place a unique air of romanticism and beauty. It contains also a horrible example of what is possible even in our present state of civilization, the old Turkish prison which was in use in 1918. For all the world it might be a mediæval dungeon. The underground cells are just large enough to allow a man to stand in them, and in these the worst criminals were chained, while the ordinary prisoners were flung into a big stone cavern, without air or light, to lie there on raised wooden platforms. It is not good to dwell upon the conditions of filth in which the British found this place.

3. *The Shepherd Country of Galilee*

After the dramatic austerity of Judæa and the typical Eastern type of sandy coast-land, the valley of Esdraelon and Galilee, with its rolling green hills, breathes a soft pastoral note. One can well imagine them as the home of the mystic shepherd, Jesus of Nazareth. Here is a gentler country, which can well be a wealthy country. At present the valleys are overrun with malarial swamps, but once drained they offer grain-growing soil, and the widespreading valley of Esdraelon is the grain source for the whole of Palestine. It is here that are found the camps of the Halutzim working on the walls, men and girls living under canvas, and sitting by the wayside munching their breakfast of black bread and jam. There are, of course, cases of malaria, but on the whole good health prevails, and, above all, these people have the spirit with which to work. I shall never forget leaving a Halutzim camp in the last rays of a purple sunset, with fifty young men marching behind us down the slope of a field, singing with strong voices and great faith the words of the Hatikoah, their national anthem. It was deeply moving, because it was full of the meaning of truth. This was patriotism not only in words but in deed.

The road that crosses from the coast to Tiberias runs through Nazareth, climbs among the hills, and falls at last into a low valley, muddy and stony. The country has a deserted air, and is ill cultivated. At some distance apart there are a few small, hard-living colonies. Finally, the road descends very steeply into the old watering-place and small town of Tiberias. The lake lies enclosed in mountains, Palestine bordering the west and north-west, with Trans-Jordania looming opposite. The actual boundary between the British and French domains cuts right through the centre of the lake, which lies like a sheet of silver under the full-orbed rising moon, or with its waters ruffled and darkened by the passing winds and the great black clouds, presaging rain. At the southern end of the lake,

where the Jordan flows out in shallow waters, is the site of the dam which forms part of the great Jordan irrigation scheme. By this scheme the whole country of the Jordan will be rendered fertile, power stations for electricity will be established, and the level of the Dead Sea lowered, the water being forced into the deeper part of its basin, and the shallower edge exposed for the quest of minerals.

Near the site of the dam is a Jewish farm colony, Dajania, run entirely upon co-operative lines. The farmhouse serves as a home for the two or three families, and the profit of the produce is shared. An interesting and apparently successful experiment in cow-breeding is being conducted, the small, native Arab animal being cross-bred with a larger Syrian type. But on the whole the farmers are seeking only the opportunity to accumulate enough capital to purchase land; this done, they will set up in their own small holdings.

Another farm colony, built by the enterprise of a single man, and in a most prosperous condition, is to be found at Migdal, the native village of Mary Magdalene. Here, too, settled along the shore of the lake, is a big camp of Halutzim, whom we found one evening after their day's work crowded round a lecturer in their recreation-room, men and girls together, attending a history lesson, their faces thrown into deep-shadowed relief by the light of an oil-lamp. Some hours later, when we were preparing to go to bed in the farm colony, the light of a bonfire flickered across the sky, and the sound of songs and rifle-shots, with which they were celebrating the wedding of two of their number, came up through the night. These people hold the future of Palestine in their hands. Whatever mistakes are made by the organization at their head, these young men and women should be able to preserve their ideal clean and unimpaired, and to make true at last the ancient dream of their race. At present they are labouring under the disadvantage of being a minority in a country where the British administration dispenses an impartial, neutral

benevolence. The Mandate and British protection have given the Jews their opportunity. The fulfilling of that opportunity must come by their own effort. It is impossible for them to hope for a clear canvas, and though natural irritation springs up in the Hebrew heart upon finding their own sacred home occupied by a race of so-called Arabs (the majority of the present inhabitants of Palestine are not real Arabs, but a mixture of old indigenous tribes, poor in physique, and backward in culture), they must realize that there are two courses open to them: to let the two cultures exist in the same country entirely separated, or to superimpose their own culture upon the Arabs. The second course would certainly produce the best results, but the civilization of the Jews is so much higher than that of the Arabs, that the two cultures may be too far apart to be brought into touch at all; just as a British colony settled in Australia has for its effect upon the native Australians, not their transformation, but their gradual disappearance. The intellectual Jew, however, may some day find it useful to have workmen of another race, though he is now so busy in the regeneration of his own people that he insists upon their performing every kind of task. The leaders of the movement aspire to the austere, ancient virtues of their race, and are perhaps too much afraid of the modern acquired accomplishments. The development of a stable, healthy peasantry by means of work on the land is a sound foundation for the building of a Utopia. But in practice there are always problems demanding immediate solution. The largest number of people possible have to be employed in the smallest space; enough work has to be found to employ these zealous Halutzim, who have undergone the greatest hardships, and run the risk of death not once but many times to reach the land of their dreams. Life must be made possible for the enthusiastic Roumanian Jew, who is trying to start a tobacco factory; for the Canadian farmers, who wish to import whole families, with their own stock, their own

agricultural implements, and, above all, their own capital. From all parts of the world men flow in, eager to build and to help. These zealots must not be disappointed, and yet they must not be admitted into Palestine if there is no work to be found for them. The actual work to be done in the country would absorb numbers enough, but the organization of that work is not simple in view of the division between British, Jews, and Arabs. But, as a guarantee of the country's future, the Jews must be given a safe foothold. To fly from pogroms in the Ukraine merely to be murdered in Palestine is scarcely an acceptable option. And whatever may be the attitude of the British administration, it must turn to the Jews for that aid in the practical development of Palestine which the Arabs have already shown their inability to afford.

New life is stirring in this eastern corner of the Mediterranean. There, almost two thousand years ago, sprang up an influence which changed the thought of Western nations, which bore Europe into the new civilization of mediæval religion, which created a new conception of the relations between peoples, which thrust out the great artistic and intellectual branches of the Renaissance and the Reformation. The eyes of Europe are turning again Eastward. No man can yet tell what new light will be shed upon the world from this small country where the creative and constructive spirit, strengthened by unquenchable faith, has at last won through to its opportunity.

THE ARAB REVIVAL IN THE MIDDLE EAST

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

UNTIL the seventh century of our era Arabia was of little more political consequence in the ancient world than it is in the modern world to-day. The Arab tribes under the names of Sabeans, Nabatheans, etc., were little heard of outside their own territory; their hand was still against every man and every man's hand against them. The mission of the Muhammad made the Arabs into a nation, and sent them forth from their own confined limits to convert the world. Within the space of a century they had overrun all Western Asia as far as the Oxus and the Indus, and all Northern Africa to the shores of the Atlantic; had occupied Spain and Portugal, Sicily and Crete, and established their outposts on the coasts of Provence and Apulia.

The object of their conquests was the propagation of their faith, and in lands that were peopled with nations of Semitic or Hamitic origin and race their purpose was easily accomplished. The Syrians, the Egyptians, the Mauretanians sloughed off their garment of Christianity and adopted the name, the language, and the religion of the newcomers. The Moor in Tangier, the Coptic fellah of the Nile Valley, the Syrian stall-keeper in the bazaars of Damascus, all call themselves Arabs, and feel themselves to be Arabs, united by the bond of common language and a common faith, for religion still counts for more than nationality as a bond of union in the East. And all these nations, which once dwelt under the shelter of the Arabian Caliphate, have inherited through intermarriage a considerable strain of Arab blood, and have, moreover, dwelling among them, or on their borders, tribes of true Arabs, Bedouins who carry with them wheresoever they go the life and the manners of the ancestral desert.

The Arab intelligence profited by the culture and art of the Romans and Persians, who had succumbed to the menace of "The Koran or the Sword," and for a time the Courts of the Khalifs were the last refuge of science and philosophy in a barbarian world; but the government of theocracy had no better fortune under the successors of Muhammad than under the successors of Moses, and the outlying countries of the Caliphate soon acquired virtual independence under the rule of Sultans and Amirs, who still acknowledged the reigning Caliph as their spiritual suzerain. By the beginning of the twelfth century the temporal authority of the vicegerent of the Prophet hardly extended beyond the limits of Irak; and the Grand Soldan, who was enthroned at Cairo, appeared to represent Islam to the Christian world. It was at his Court that the Abbasides Khalif found a refuge and an asylum when, in the same century, the lands of Asia and of Islam were overrun by the Mogul deluge. When it had subsided the Turk entered into the heritage of the Arab. The Grand Soldan was overthrown by the Grand Turk. The seat of the Caliph at Baghdad was occupied by a Turkish Pasha. The Arabs had long before been driven from all their holds on the Continent of Europe, but the Moorish princes who ruled in North Africa still maintained the Arab style and tradition. But now they too had to make way for Turks under the various titles of Pashas, Beys, and Deys. The Moorish kingdom of Morocco remained the sole memento of the Arabian Caliphate; with this exception no State of any political or geographical consequence remained under Arab rule.

Even the Caliphate passed out of Arab hands; the Turkish chronicler Evliya Effendi perpetrates an anachronism when he records the following prediction, uttered by the Sultan Bajazet II. upon his dethronement and supersession by his ambitious son, Selim the Ferocious, in the camp at Chorlu:

"O, ye Selims, your days shall be short, but your

victories many: ye have taken from me the Khilafat at Chorlu, and there ye shall give it back!" But his son and successor Selim was the first Osmanli Sultan to claim the title of Caliph.* During this period its influence was backed by the very considerable military power of the Mamelukes, but Sultan Selim the Ferocious reunited the spiritual and temporal elements in the hereditary dynasty of the House of Othman. Since his time the Ottoman Sultans have added the style of Caliph of Islam to their other titles.

In some other quarters, however, the opinion was held that the Khilafat was in abeyance, that it would only be revived on the appearance of the Mahdi or of the Twelfth Imam, or of the Mula as S'a'a, according to the expectations of the Senussiya sect, the promised Messiah who would convert the whole world to the true faith. But of late years a change has taken place in Musalman opinion in India, and great numbers of our Muhammadan fellow-subjects have made up their minds to accept the Osmanli Sultan as the Khalifa of the Prophet, whence has arisen the movement known as the Khilafat agitation.

For centuries past Islam had been a world in itself, self-centred and self-contained. The Musalman knew nothing and cared nothing about the infidel countries outside its pale. He studied history, but his history began with the Hegira and recorded only the reigns and the deeds of Caliphs and Sultans. He studied geography, but it was only the geography of the Muhammadan countries from Maghrab-al-aksa (Morocco) in the west, to Mawar-an-Nahr (Eastern Turkistan) in the east. The Sultan of Roum (Turkey), was the mightiest monarch in the world, and the seven infidel kings of the Farang paid tribute to him. Even at the time of the Crimean War the Indian Moslems generally believed that the British and French

* Evliya Effendi claims that this prediction was fulfilled in the case of Selim I. and his grandson Selim II. Each of them reigned eight years, and both of them died at Chorlu.

went to help the Sultan against his Russian enemy as in duty bound. Tippoo Sahib sent an embassy to Constantinople to invoke the aid of the Padishah against the English infidels. It reached its destination at a most unfortunate time, when the Padishah was soliciting the aid of the English to repel the aggression of the French Republic on his province of Egypt. The embassy was more successful in Paris, where splendid promises of support and succour for "Citizen Tippoo" were easily obtained. History once more repeats itself, and the Bolsheviks of Moscow are as eager and as active in making trouble for the British Empire in every quarter of the globe to-day as the Red Republicans of Paris were little more than a hundred years ago.

At the present day Afghanistan is the only really independent country under Musalman rule; for though Persia is making an attempt to maintain her integrity, it is very unlikely that she can for long carry on without the support of Great Britain or Russia. Every other Musalman nation is under either the direct or the indirect protectorate of some Christian Power, from Morocco in the west, under French superintendence, to Bokhara in the east, under Bolshevik rule.

Accordingly the new experiment in Irak is of particular interest at this juncture. It is difficult to forecast the result or to estimate the effect of the revival of Arab rule in the Hejjaz and in Mesopotamia. All recent political movements of the Arab race have taken the direction of a reversion to former conditions; as Palgrave put it, "attempt to put back the hands of the clock of time to where they stood at the death of the Prophet Muhammad!" Such was the great Wahabi movement of the eighteenth century, which for a time restored Arab rule in the holy places of Islam, and was only crushed by the tactical skill and improved armament which the Egyptian Ibrahim Pasha had borrowed from the Farangi infidel. The Wahabis still maintain their strict principles in the safety and solitude of

the Arabian desert,* and we believe that an arrangement has been made by which they are to receive a subsidy from the British Government, by way, we suppose, of a bargain for their good behaviour, following the precedent of the Romans, who, in their days of declining empire, purchased the neutrality of the barbarians on their frontiers.

The movement of the Dervishes in the Eastern Soudan was provoked by the maladministration of their Egyptian rulers, and it took the same form as that of the Wahabis, the supersession of man-made law of the Divine Shari'at, and the restoration of the theocracy. After the death of the Mahdi his successor took the title of Khalifa, but the age of miracles had passed away, and the Arabs' faith and zeal were effectually countered by breechloaders and machine-guns. The origin of the Sanussiyya sect was the inherent opposition of the creed of Islam to the European ideas and Christian ideals which the conquest and final occupation of Algiers by the French introduced into Africa.

Much tact will be required in the formation of a military force for the protection of Mesopotamia, and an elastic organization like that of the old irregular regiments of the old East India Company's army will be found more suitable to the genius and temperament of the Arab than any system of European pattern. An English Consul once asked an Arab Shaikh in Mesopotamia why he and his fellows endured such a feeble and tyrannical rule as that of the Turk. The Arab replied, "If there were no Turkish Government we would take a Turk's cap and set it on a pole to be our ruler; for we could never agree among ourselves; no tribe would ever submit to the sway of another one, so our only choice is between alien rule and anarchy." A new ruler has now been established at Baghdad, the ancient and famous seat of the Arabian Caliphate, in the person of the Amir Faisal, son of Malik Husain, King of the Hejjaz; and thus Arab rule has been re-established there after the lapse of six centuries.

* See Note on next page.

The Arab nation has now a chance of repeating its past history by emulating its former achievements and renewing its ancient glories, and may once more look forward to taking the place in the world to which its numbers and its character entitle it, and to once more experiencing the fulfilment of the promise made to its ancestor, the Patriarch Abraham, "And I will make of thee a great nation."

NOTE ON THE WAHABIS

By H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.

THE following details with regard to the Wahabis may be of interest, in view of the reference to them in Lieut.-General Tyrrell's article. The founder of the sect (which may be described as the advanced wing of the Sunnis, the Puritans of Islam) was Abdul Wahab, the son of a petty chief of Nejd, the tract of country which stretches across the oases of Central Arabia from the eastern boundary of the Hedjaz to El Hasa on the Persian Gulf. After consolidating his influence over the greater part of Nejd, where he imposed himself as spiritual chief, with his father-in-law, Muhammad ibn Sa'ud, as temporal monarch, Abdul Wahab proceeded to form an Arab League and to attack the Turkish power. He died in 1787, but bequeathed his conquests to a worthy successor. In 1791 a successful campaign was undertaken against the Grand Sheikh of Mecca, and in 1797 the Pasha of Bagdad was heavily defeated. In 1801 Mecca was again invaded by a force of more than 100,000 men, and two years later the Holy City was captured. In 1804 Medina likewise fell into the hands of the Wahabis. All the inhabitants in either city who refused to accept their creed were massacred, and the tombs of the Muhammadan saints and even the Sacred Mosque itself were plundered. From 1803 to 1809 no great pilgrim caravan crossed the desert. The Wahabis overran Syria, waged war with the British in the Persian Gulf, and threatened Constantinople. Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, was roused to action; and in 1812 Thomas Keith, a Scotchman, under Ibrahim, the Pasha's son, took Medina by storm. Mecca was recaptured in 1813, and five years later the Wahabi kingdom had ceased to exist. During the military operations of 1914 the Emir of Nejd, who is a representative of the former dynasty, asserted his independence, and extended his rule over the adjoining Turkish province of El Hasa. The capital of Nejd, Riyadh, is a station on the trans-Arabian caravan route from El Hasa to Mecca, and contains a large mosque which is the rallying-point of the Wahabi Moslems.

For an account of the activities of the Indian branch of the sect, Sir William Hunter's book on "The Indian Muslims" (Trübner, 1871) should be consulted, as also a "Review" by Sir Syed Ahmed of Aligarh, which is in the nature of a reply and was published at Benares in 1872.

In formal divinity the Wahabis are the Unitarians of Islam. They refuse divine attributes to Muhammad, forbid prayers in his name, and denounce applications to departed saints. At the same time, they look for the coming of the Imam who will lead the true believers to victory over the infidels, and enjoin absolute obedience to their spiritual guide. For many years, from 1820 to 1870, they were established at Sittana, and later at Malka, on the north-west frontier of India, where they were joined after the Mutiny by fugitive rebels, both Hindu and Muhammadan; and numerous expeditions were needed before their power could be broken. A series of State trials took place at Ambala in 1864 and at Patna in 1870, which resulted in the conviction of a number of ring-leaders.

CAUCASIA IN EUROPEAN POLITICS

BY A. GUGUSHVILI, F.R.G.S.

THE question of the Transcaucasian Republics (Armenia, Azerhaidjan, and Georgia) gained a certain amount of importance in the eyes of the Allied Powers when the Germans first landed their troops at Poti in 1918. Since that time these States have been the object of consideration by the Paris Peace Conference, as well as by the Governments of the victorious Entente individually.

The independence to which the peoples of the Transcaucasian States aspired so long seemed to have a definite aspect, not only in the eyes of the native peoples themselves, but even in the minds of the Allied Powers. But the uncertainty and undecidedness of the Allied Governments in the moulding of their policy, and also the concurrence of various circumstances in the relationship of the Transcaucasian States—especially with the Nationalist Turks and Bolshevik Russians, who had their special interests in these States—prevented the latter, who had not a determined or clear-cut policy of the Allies to back them, from consolidating their power and co-ordinating their policy.

The Russian Bolsheviks and Nationalist Turks, seeing that latterly the Transcaucasian States seemed to have been left to their own resources, tried to regain their influence, which was to them absolutely necessary and of immediate importance, in order to combine and co-ordinate their actions for the better carrying out of their policy in the East. Owing to the inadvertent policy of the Entente and the growing necessity of the Russo-Turkish *rapprochement* these Transcaucasian States became, one by one, the victims of their northern and southern enemies, a development which was detrimental to the cause of peace as

well as to the interests of the Allies in the Near East. First Azerbaidjan, then Armenia, and then Georgia succumbed to the invasions of Moscow and Angora, and in spite of—under the prevailing circumstances—determined resistance by these peoples they did not receive any material or even moral assistance, as if their fate could not but compromise any real settlement of the Near East. It may be added that one of the Allied Powers did give assistance—and that whole-heartedly—but it came too late. This apathetic attitude prevails even to-day, when the consequences of the occupation of Transcaucasia by the Russian forces and the consequent establishment of closer union between Moscow and Angora enshrouds and complicates the possibility of arriving at any settlement in the Near East and the establishment of peace there. But the Transcaucasian peoples generally and their Governments have not lost faith and courage, and continue to work for the re-establishment of the independence of their States.

There is a saying that there is no evil without some good springing from it, and the occupation of Transcaucasia by the Bolshevik forces in conjunction with their allies, the Nationalist Turks, has borne its fruit: the four States of Caucasia (Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Georgia, and Northern Caucasia), who had been carrying on negotiations for the conclusion of a defensive alliance even previous to the fall of their States before the Russians, have at last surmounted the difficulties, and concluded an alliance in Paris on June 10, 1921, and established an understanding between themselves.

The agreement entered upon aims at the establishment of a close union among the peoples of Caucasia, based on the co-ordination of their external policy, and the acceptance of obligatory arbitration as the sole means of settling their territorial differences.

The principal feature of the agreement is the creation of a Customs Union (*Zollverein*) for all the Caucasian States, which will henceforth comprise one sole territory for the

transit of international commerce. The economic interests of Russia receive special attention, and the co-operation of foreign capital, in the working of the natural wealth of Caucasia, is also outlined.

The independence of the Caucasian Republics, their close political and economic union, and the establishment of good and friendly relations with the neighbouring Powers of Caucasia—Russia, Turkey, Persia—common diplomatic action with a view to a speedy and friendly delimitation of frontier between Turkey and Armenia, and, finally, freedom of transit for international commerce across the Isthmus of Caucasia: such are the main principles of this agreement, the importance of which in the affairs of the Near East one cannot fail to recognize.

By her geographical position Caucasia is the bridge-head between Europe and Asia, and a sort of "half-way house" on the great international route between East and West, connecting the Mediterranean and the Dardanelles by the shortest route with Central Asia, Persia, and India; the freedom of this route for the benefit of all nations can only be assured by the complete independence of the Caucasian Republics. The settlement of this question should, therefore, be of great concern to the Allied Powers and to all who have at heart the interests of peace in the East and of humanity and progress generally.

The present state of affairs in Russia is sure to come to an end in the not very distant future, and may quite possibly be followed by worse events, by which the Caucasian peoples have not the slightest desire to be affected. Whether Russia is to pass through a worse phase or not is a matter for speculation, but one thing is clear, and it is this: that the future of Russia is veiled in uncertainty and obscurity, and it will not be inexpedient or unwise to consider establishing a cordon between her and the vast continent of Asia, which, being easily susceptible to infection, would be apt to come under the influence of the deceitful, but very attractive, Bolshevik doctrines of

social and political liberty, thus involving not only the Western European Powers, who have no small interest there, but also the world in general.

The Transcaucasian States clearly understand to-day that the establishment of a close and friendly union between them is indispensable for the consolidation of their independence as well as for enabling Caucasia to serve as a link between East and West, and thus between the Christian and Mussulman worlds. This aspiration both for independence and close political and economic union is natural, the cordon which they will represent will also be natural, and its cementation will not require, on the part of the Western European Powers, more than moral and diplomatic support; therefore, the policy which refuses to support it would be inexpedient, as not to pay serious attention to the aspirations of the Transcaucasians and their Entente would be harmful to the peace of the Near East.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE FIFTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submit the following Report on the Proceedings of the Association for the year 1920-21 :

The necessity which the public still feel for strict economy in their domestic budgets has again been an obstacle in the way of obtaining new Members, but the numbers show an increase of seventeen. It is hoped that Members of the Association will be able to persuade friends to join. The acquisitions of the year have been due largely to the leaflets which are sent out from this office.

The Association, as is well known, is a non-political body, but it is neither possible nor desirable to ignore politics altogether, especially when affairs of such momentous interest are taking place in India. Its attitude towards the Reform Scheme has been one of sympathy, tempered by studied moderation, and while recognizing Indian aspirations, it has always sought to avoid the extremes of either side. The Council notes that the opening session at Delhi has by common consent given good promise for the future, and that the moderation and good sense there shown are calculated to further the cause for which the Association is working.

The year has seen a change of Viceroy in India. The Council forwarded the congratulations of the Association to Lord Reading. A notable feature was the appointment of Lord Sinha as Governor of Bihar and Orissa. It is surely with feelings of satisfaction that we can regard this unique appointment of one of our most respected Members. The Association is also under an obligation to Lord Pentland for so kindly arranging a party at his private

house to meet Lord and Lady Reading. Not only was his entertainment completely successful, but it proved a welcome diversion from the usual and more formal lectures.

The Council has to record with gratitude a gift of books from Lady Elliott, widow of Sir Charles Elliott, formerly Lieut.-Governor of Bengal. Mr. J. B. Pennington was elected an Hon. Member in July last in recognition of his long connection with, and his untiring services to, the Association.

The following Papers were read during the year :

May 17, 1920.—"Tamil Proverbs: A Key to the Language and to the Mind of the People," by Sydney Gordon Roberts, Esq., I.C.S. (ret'd.). Sir Harvey Adamson, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

June 22, 1920.—"The Work of the Calcutta University Commission," by P. J. Hartog, Esq., C.I.E., M.A. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

July 12, 1920.—"The Study of Indian Poverty," by W. H. Moreland, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

October 25, 1920.—"The Education of Indian Boys of the Better or Upper-Class Families," by Father T. Vander Schueren, S.J. (of St. Xavier's College, Calcutta). The Right Hon. Lord Carmichael, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., in the chair.

November 22, 1920.—"The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India," by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, PH.D. (Professor at the University of Leiden; late Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India). Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., in the chair (in the absence of the Right Hon. Lord Curzon).

January 24, 1921.—"Medicine in India," by Dr. Cecil Webb-Johnson. Colonel Sir Ronald Ross, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., in the chair.

February 21, 1921.—"Crime and Police in India," by Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A. Sir Edward R.

Henry, Bart., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., C.S.I. (formerly Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, London), in the chair.

March 21, 1921.—"An Historical View of the Political Unity of India," by Balachandra Chintaman Vaidya, Esq., M.A. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

April 25, 1921.—"Early Hindu Polity in Kashmir," by E. A. Molony, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S. (ret'd.). Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., in the chair.

All these Papers were by experts in their own subjects. The Association was fortunate in hearing Mr. Hartog, now Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University, who, as a Member of the Calcutta University Commission, spoke with first-hand and inside knowledge. It would be invidious to make selections, but perhaps one of the most interesting of the Papers read was that by Sir John Cumming. The subject was attractive, and the success of it was enhanced by the chairmanship of one so intimately conversant with police work in India and England as Sir Edward Henry.

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

Atwell Lake Alexander, Esq., K.-1-H.

Lieut.-Colonel Stephen Lushington Aplin, C.S.I.

The Right Hon. Lord St. Audries.

Thomas Martland Ainscough, Esq., O.B.E.

Khan Bahadur Abdul Alim.

The Hon. Raja Ravu Venkata Kumara Krishna

Rangarow Bahadur, Raja of Bobbili.

Frederick Robert Bagley, Esq., M.I.C.E.

Charles Augustas Bird, Esq., I.C.S. (ret'd.).

Syed Mahdi Hossain Bilgrami, M.A.

His Eminence Cardinal Bourne.

Monindra Banerjee, Esq.

George Townsend Boag, Esq., I.C.S.

Nawab Akeel Jung Bahadur.

- Marlborough Crosse, Esq. (Indian Education Service, retd.).
- Sir Walter Erskine Crum, O.B.E.
- Loftus Otway Clarke, Esq., I.C.S.
- Rai Bahadur Rampurtap Chamria.
- Rajaram Maharaj Shri Chhatrapati, Yuvaraj of Kolhapur.
- Lieutenant P. S. Cannon (Army Education Service).
- Dr. Aldo Castellani, C.M.G., M.D., M.R.C.P.
- William W. Drew, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
- Dinanath Dutt, Esq. (Indian Finance Dept.).
- Dadiba Merwanjee Dalal, Esq., C.I.E.
- Lieut.-Colonel E. A. Ewart.
- Dr. Lawrence George Fink, M.B., C.M. (Edin.).
- William Henry Ginn, Esq.
- Meherban Dattajirao Ghatage, Jahagirdar of Kagal Junior.
- Sir Malcolm Nicholson Hogg.
- Syed Serajal Hassan, M.A., LL.D.
- Lieut.-Colonel Evelyn Berkeley Howell, C.S.I., C.I.E.
I.C.S.
- Khan Bahadur Mohamed Khalibur Rahman Khan Bal Krishna, Esq., M.A.
- Ralph Wilfred Kite, Esq.
- Khan Bahadur S. Khan Mohamed Kureshi.
- Diwan Bahadur Peter N. Lakshmanan, M.R.C.P.,
M.R.C.S.
- Dr. Shapurji H. Modi.
- C. Vincent Morgan, Esq.
- Syed Ross Masood, B.A.
- Francis John Monohan, Esq., I.C.S.
- M. Maqpool Mahmood, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
- The Rev. Frank Oldrieve.
- Khan Sahib Sorabjee Pallonjee Patel.
- Francis Angelo Theodore Phillips, Esq., I.C.S.
(retd.).
- Campbell Ward Rhodes, C.B.E.

F. J. P. Richter, Esq.
Walter Aubin Le Rossignol, Esq., I.C.S.
Rai Bahadur Boikunt Nath Sen, C.I.E.
Sri Varichala Narsimha Sooreanarayana Raju
Bahadur Garu, Zemindar of Kurupam.
Raja Bahadur Bhupendra Narayan Sinha of
Nashipur.
Miss Ida S. Scudder, M.D.
Colonel William Frank Smith, I.A.
Raja Sripal Singh of Tikra.
Muhammad Sahir Ali Khan Sharvany, M.A., LL.B.
Dewan Mohan Singh, M.A.
Khan Bahadur Hazrat Shah.
Madivaleshwar Shivshankar Sirdar, Esq.
Rai Bahadur Kunj Behari Thapar, O.B.E.
The Raja of Talcher.
Parakunnel Joseph Thomas, Esq.
Balachandra Chintaman Vaidya, Esq.
Arthur Allen Waugh, Esq., I.C.S.

The following have resigned membership during the year :

Albert Bruce-Joy, Esq.
W. D. Braithwaite, Esq.
William Barclay Brown, Esq., I.C.S. (ret'd.).
Sir James Begbie.
D. G. Cameron, Esq.
Sir William Henry Clark, K.C.S.I., C.M.G.
Jehangir Cursetji, Esq.
Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I.
Sir Frederick G. Dumayne.
G. K. Devadhar, Esq.
Lieut.-Colonel Sir Hugh Daly, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
S. M. Edwards, Esq., C.V.O., C.S.I.
Sir Frederic W. R. Fryer, K.C.S.I.
Kanhayalal Gauba, Esq.
Mrs. E. A. R. Haigh.
Herman A. Haines, Esq.

J. G. Jennings, Esq., C.I.E.
 Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan.
 Arthur Barton Kent, Esq., F.R.G.S.
 Sir Frederick Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
 Raja Peary Mohan Mookerjee, C.S.I.
 James Macdonald, Esq., M.I.M.E.
 Dr. Jijibhai Pestanji Nicholson.
 Sir Henry Erle Richards, K.C.S.I.
 A. Suryanarayana Row, Esq.
 Sir Walter Raleigh.
 Sydney D. Smith, Esq.
 H.H. the Maharao of Sirohi, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
 Lieut.-Colonel John Shakespear, C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O.
 E. H. Tabak, Esq.
 J. A. G. Wales, Esq.
 Mrs. Wynch.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members :

James Drummond Anderson, I.C.S. (retd.).
 Sir Ralph Sillery Benson.
 The Hon. Raja Ravu Venkata Kumara Krishna
 Rangarow Bahadur, Raja of Bobbili.
 Surgeon-General James Cleghorn, C.S.I.
 Stuart Hollick, Esq.
 H.H. Mir Sir Imambux Khan Talpur, G.C.I.E., Mir
 of Khairpur.
 Hebbalu Velpanur Nanjudayya, Esq., C.I.E.
 Lieut.-General A. Phelps.
 R. H. Perrott, Esq.
 Lieut.-Colonel Sir James Robert Dunlop-Smith,
 K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., C.I.E.
 Sir Gabriel Stokes, K.C.S.I.
 Edward Little Sale, Esq.

The Association has sustained a great loss in the death of Mr. J. D. Anderson, whose knowledge of India and Indian questions was profound and scholarly. Amongst other distinguished Members whom we have to deplore are

Sir James Dunlop-Smith, Sir Ralph Benson, and Sir Gabriel Stokes. The loss of Indian Members is a further matter for regret, and it is melancholy to have to note the deaths of the Raja of Bobbili, son of the Maharaja, and H. H. the Mir of Khairpur.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation :

Sir Thomas J. Beonett, C.I.E., M.P.

Sir Mancherjee M. Bhowaggee, K.C.I.E.

Sir Herbert Holmwood.

Sir Walter C. Hugbes, C.I.E.

J. B. Pennington, Esq.

Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E.

S. S. Thorburn, Esq.

Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P.

These gentlemen are willing, if re-elected, to continue to serve, and it is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council.

The Council has again to acknowledge with gratitude the interest which Lord Reay takes in the affairs of the Association, notwithstanding the handicap of indifferent health.

The Accounts show a balance of £378 11s. 5d., as compared with £528 16s. 2d. last year. The decrease in balance may be ascribed mainly to the special grant which was made for an attempt to extend the scope of the Association, and partly also to subscriptions from India being overdue.

LAMINGTON,
Chairman.

BALANCE SHEET, APRIL 30, 1921

ASSETS.	LIABILITIES.
Investments in India: Govern- ment Promissory Notes for Rupees 92,400 ... £4,248 0 0 Library and Furniture ... 300 0 0 War Loan ... 305 2 3 Balance of Bank and Cash Account ... 379 4 3	<hr/> £5,232 6 6
<hr/> £5,232 6 6	

Examined and found correct.

F. R. SCATCHERD, Member of Council.

G. M. RYAN, Member of Association.

May 26, 1921.

STANLEY P. RICE, Hon. Secretary.

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

CASH ACCOUNT FROM MAY 1, 1920, TO APRIL 30, 1921.

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.		
To Balance at Bank	...	£528 16 2	By Rent	...	£125 0 0
" Cash in Hand	...	3 2 1	" Printing, ASIATIC REVIEW, etc.	...	371 19 1
" Postage in Hand	...	0 1 0	" Salary of Clerk	...	150 0 0
		£531 19 3	" Postages	...	68 3 4
" Subscriptions	...	£557 3 6	" Hire of Hall and Refreshments	...	19 10 10
" Interest on Investments	...	207 13 11	" Reporting Meetings	...	37 5 10
" Interest on War Loan	...	15 5 0	" Hon. Secretary's Railway Expenses, etc.	...	4 5 0
" Refund of Income Tax	...	91 0 11	" Hon. Secretary's Honorarium	...	187 10 0
" Sale of Journals and Pamphlets	...	5 9 2	" Housekeeper and Office Repairs	...	23 6 0
" Sale of Old Books	...	4 10 0	" Stationery	...	12 7 6
		£881 2 6	" Banker's Charges	...	3 8 5
			" Electric Light and Coal	...	9 18 8
			" Housekeeper and Postman's Christmas Box	...	0 15 0
			" Press Cuttings, Newspapers, and Books	...	10 0 4
			" Subscriptions paid in error	...	6 5 0
			" Fire Insurance	...	0 7 0
			" Advertisement	...	0 5 0
			" Telephone Charges	...	0 8 0
			" Remoed Address Plates	...	1 9 6
			" Bookbinding	...	1 13 0
			" Balance at Bank	...	£1,033 17 6
			" Cash in Hand	...	378 11 5
			" Postage in Hand	...	0 4 10
					0 8 0
Total	...	£1,413 1 9	Total	...	£1,413 1 9

Examined with Vouchers and Passbook and found correct.

F. K. SCATCHERD, Member of Council.
G. M. RYAN, Member of Association.

STANLEY P. RICE, Hon. Secretary.

May 26, 1921.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE fifty-fourth Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held on Monday, June 20, 1921, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when the Report and Accounts were presented.

The Right Hon. Lord Reay (President of the Association) occupied the chair, and the following members were present: Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr. S. H. Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i.H., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, the Rev. Dr. R. H. Durham, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. A. L. Emanuel, Mr. H. L. Leach, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. R. Sewell, Mrs. Jackson, Miss Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. K. P. Kotval, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

It was agreed that the Report of the Association, which had been presented, should be taken as read.

Mr. OWEN DUNN moved that the Report and Accounts be received and adopted, and placed on the Minutes. So far as he could see they were in a satisfactory position, although he regretted to see so many members had withdrawn their membership during the year. Their balance was slightly less than the previous year, but that was explained by the fact that there had been some special expenditure in order to try and improve the membership of the Association, and to generally further the interests of the members.

Mr. RICHTER seconded the proposal.

Mr. LEACH said he would like to make a few remarks, the most important of which was with regard to the item on the expenditure side of the Accounts of the salary paid to their clerk of £150. That seemed to him to be rather a low salary, and he hoped they would be able to see their way to be a little more generous in that respect.

The next point he wished to refer to was with reference to the statement that the decrease in their balance was mainly due to a special grant which had been made in an attempt to extend the scope of the Association. There appeared to be no details with regard to it, and he thought there ought to be some statement as to how the money had been spent during the year.

The SECRETARY said that the salary of the clerk had been raised during the past year. Although it was recognized the salary was not princely, they felt that was all that could be expended, especially as it was not altogether a full-time appointment. They would have been glad to pay more if they could afford it. He was afraid it was a little too early to reconsider the resolution which the Council passed only last year.

With regard to the second item referred to by Mr. Leach, a proposal had been made by Mr. Nicholson that attempts should be made to get more members, and various ways had been suggested. It was a very

difficult matter, as they had no particular material advantages to offer to new members. The matter had been before the Council and had been the subject of considerable discussion, and it was finally decided that a grant of £150 should be made to the Hon. Secretary for the purpose. Considerable time had been spent, and considerable trouble, but unfortunately the attempt was not very successful. The idea really was that if they could get a larger number of members, they would not only be in a more flourishing condition, but they would be able to pay the Secretary. The matter had now been dropped, but it was thought right to make the experiment.

Mr. LEACH said that he noticed they had a balance of something over £300 a year, and he thought they might squeeze another £50 a year for the clerk, and still have a good balance left.

The SECRETARY said that if it was desired the matter could be again brought before the Council. But they did not know what sort of calls were likely to be made upon them in the near future. They would shortly be called upon to make certain repairs and decorations to their premises under the terms of their lease as a matter of legal obligation.

It was agreed the matter be referred to the Council for further consideration, the Secretary remarking that they all appreciated Mr. King's work.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure the Council will take into consideration the remarks which have just been made.

Now I wish in the first place to ask you to give a vote of thanks to the Secretary, for the trouble he has taken in getting new members and in other ways rendering service to the Association during the year. (Hear, hear.) And I hope members will not cease to try to persuade their friends to join, although I think we may be pleased that in present conditions, when all societies are losing members, our membership should have increased. (Hear, hear.)

Now to turn to the Report, you will see that the Association, while recognizing Indian aspirations, has always sought to avoid extremes, holding more or less a position of benevolent neutrality. The Council notes that the opening Session at Delhi has by common consent given good promises for the future. That can be said of all the Provincial Legislative Assemblies; the way in which they have begun their new career under the Reform scheme has been very satisfactory, and that is due in great measure to the visit of the Duke of Connaught. (Hear, hear.) I am sure we are all agreed that his speeches have been very felicitous. The Duke knows India, and understands the aspirations of Indians, and was the best representative the Empire could have sent to India on such an important occasion in her history. (Hear, hear.)

Then the year has seen a change in the Viceroyalty of India, and another notable feature is the appointment of Lord Sinha as Governor of Bihar and Orissa; they were both very important events. We must all hope that the career of the new Viceroy will be successful, and you will be pleased to hear that I shall presently propose that Lord Chelmsford should become a member of the Council. (Hear, hear.)

Then I wish to bring to your notice a gift of books from Lady Elliott.

We all know how eminent a member of the Civil Service was Sir Charles Elliott. There is a good deal of well-justified demand for retrenchment in this country to-day, and I remember how Sir Charles went as head of a Commission all over India at the time to inquire how we could retrench. I admired his extraordinary quickness in finding out what was practical, and his equanimity. I had the great pleasure afterwards of being his colleague on the now defunct School Board for London, where he distinguished himself in a remarkable way looking after its finances.

Then there is a reference with regard to Mr. Hartog's excellent paper, Mr. Hartog now being the Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University. In that case I am sure you will all agree that no better man could have been sent to India to occupy such an important post than Dr. Hartog; his work on the Educational Commission had prepared him for it, and I hope you will allow me in your name to wish him every success in the important duties he is now carrying out. (Hear, hear.) There is a reference to an important paper on the "Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India" by Dr. Vogel, who was for a long time in the service of the Government of India, and who is now Professor at the University of Leyden. I wish that example would be followed by other Dutchmen, by going and serving for a time in India, and then bringing home, or to the Colonies, the fruits of their experience. His lecture was a very interesting one. I am glad to say we have rarely any difficulty in finding distinguished lecturers, and distinguished men to occupy the chair at our lectures, and I think during the year we have been extremely successful in that way. I see that among the new members there is Miss Scudder, M.D. The ladies who go out to India in the ranks of the medical profession confer benefits on India which I have always considered stand in the front rank of what the United Kingdom has done for India, and which were fully recognized in the reign of Queen Victoria. I am told that Miss Scudder is an American subject, and that makes it all the more satisfactory, because the more Americans we can attract to India the better, and I am sure you will allow me to state—although I am careful not to touch on politics—that for the future of the world nothing is more important than the friendly relations of the British Empire with America. (Hear, hear.)

I wish to refer to the regrettable death of Mr. J. D. Anderson. I am sure all who knew him will remember his great knowledge of Indian matters. I had the pleasure of meeting him at the Royal Asiatic Society, and I was always struck by his great modesty and his learning, and I hope you will allow me to say how I feel his loss. I suggest that a letter of condolence should be sent to his relatives. We have also lost the Mir of Khairpur. Sir James Dunlop Smith represented the best type of Indian officials, and discharged his duties with consummate tact and geniality. He belonged to a very distinguished family—his brother is the Principal of Aberdeen University—and I am sure you will allow me to express your sympathy and condolences to his family. (Hear, hear.)

I have to ask you to re-elect certain Members of Council, among whom we find the name of our indefatigable friend Dr. Pollen, whose genial presence we miss to-day, but he still takes a deep interest in the work of

the Association, and sends us his comments on every paper that we have the pleasure of hearing, and I am sure you will all agree in sending him a very cordial greeting. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution with regard to the adoption of the Report and Accounts was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The SECRETARY said that he would like to thank Lord Reay for his personal references to himself. With regard to what had been said about America, he was glad to say they had recently elected an American as a life member of the Association. He had also had a very cordial and friendly letter from the Historical Society of Rochester, and he believed the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW was endeavouring to help them to obtain further American members, and if they were successful it would be a very notable piece of work, because they were all working for the good of India, and the Indian situation was not as fully understood as it ought to be in the United States of America.

The CHAIRMAN said that all the members of Council who retired by rotation were fully prepared to accept re-election. Lord Lamington had written to say that owing to business in Scotland he was unable to be present at the meeting.

It was proposed and seconded and carried unanimously that the Vice-Presidents be re-elected.

It was proposed and seconded that the following members of Council be re-elected: Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir Walter C. Hughes, C.I.E., J. B. Pennington, Esq., Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., S. S. Thorburn, Esq., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P. Carried unanimously.

It was also proposed and seconded that Lord Chelmsford be elected as Vice-President of the Association. The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

It was proposed by the Chairman, and seconded, that the following three gentlemen should be elected members of the Association: (1) The Nawabzada Khwaja Muhammad Afzal, Khan Bahadur, Member of Bengal Legislative Council; (2) Srinivasa Sastri, Esq.; (3) Mohammad Omar Abbasi, Esq. The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: Has any member anything to say before the meeting concludes?

Mr. COLDSTREAM said they all appreciated the vote of thanks to the Secretary, and he thought his services should be specially recognized, because in a time of stress and difficulty he had actually increased the membership of the Association to a considerable extent. Their finances were in a flourishing condition, and the lectures throughout the year had been a great success. He had great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to the Secretary which had been proposed by Lord Reay.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Sir THOMAS BENNETT said he had been asked to propose that Lord Reay be re-elected as President for the ensuing year. (Hear, hear.) They felt that it would be a great favour if Lord Reay would be so good

as to continue his valuable services to the Association. Since Lord REAY returned to this country he had been connected with countless good works, such as the Royal Asiatic Society—for which he had done most valuable work—and the British Academy, and they felt it an honour that the President of two such Societies should bring their Association within his orbit. It would be their good fortune if Lord REAY would be good enough to accept the Presidency for the coming year. (Hear, hear.)

MISS SCATCHERD, in seconding the resolution, said there could not be any difference of opinion about what Sir Thomas Bennett had said, and would like to read one sentence from a letter she had received from Dr. Pollen in that connection which would be read at the later meeting. He said:

"I am much disappointed that I cannot get to London for the Annual Meeting, for I should have liked to join in thanking my old friend Lord REAY for the splendid way in which his lordship continues to guide and help the old Association in its work for the good of the people of India generally. I also wanted to personally congratulate Mr. Pennington on his well-won and well-merited honorary membership. I have just sent him a line telling him no one knows better than I do how unselfishly he has served the Association, and what wonderful energy, patience, and good temper he has displayed in keeping us all up to the mark, and in persistently proclaiming 'Truths about India' for the good of her people, and in the interests of a better understanding."

SIR THOMAS BENNETT said that after that additional tribute to the President, he would put the resolution—which the Chairman could not put himself—to the meeting.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried with acclamation.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am very much obliged to the members for adopting the motion which has been proposed in such friendly terms by Sir Thomas Bennett. I have only one thing to say, and that is that Sir Thomas Bennett, whenever he thinks I ought to be superannuated, will not hesitate to inform me; but meanwhile, as long as I have the strength, and feel that I can still serve the Association, it will always give me the greatest pleasure to meet old Indian friends here. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings then terminated.

THE CITY OF SURAT: OUR OLD GATEWAY TO INDIA

BY A. L. EMANUEL, M.A. (OXON.), I.C.S.

THE close British connection with India has now reached a more respectable age than one is apt to think. The first permanent British settlement in India, which was made at Surat, should have celebrated a tercentenary some few years ago, for the factory was inaugurated in 1612, in James I.'s reign. Even before that date Britons had landed in Surat as ambassadors to the Great Mogul, though not as settlers. Surat was then the greatest city of Western India, and was the port of Delhi, 700 miles away, Bombay being still a little archipelago of rocky jungle islands, save for a Portuguese fort on one of them. Our colony of Bomhay was not founded till fifty years later.

Much in the same way that, in China to-day, European nations have their concessions at, say, Shanghai or Tientsin, and English, French, Americans, in close juxtaposition, rent, for commercial purposes, each a certain area of land over which they exercise most of the rights of a sovereign, so, in old Surat, English, Dutch, and Portuguese leased factories from the Mogul or his semi-independent Nawábs. But to-day the English alone survive. Of the Portuguese there remain the massive ruined walls of some factory buildings; of the Dutch, little but their mausolea, which the British authorities keep up, and the name of a Dutch quay, or "hunder," on the river. Of the French, the relics are a so-called French hunder, or quay, a so-called "French Bungalow," in Indian hands, on one of the exits from the city, and a "French Garden," well and pleasantly placed by the Tapti River, covering a good many acres, and till

recently well wooded with thorny acacias. This French garden is a sort of No Man's Land, for failure of the Government of the Republic to assert its rights, and when I was Collector of Surat between 1917 and 1919, I was given to understand that some of the Indian townspeople had become squatters, and obtained a handsome rent from third parties. A suggestion of my own that Government should take advantage of the alliance with France to buy for Government buildings this small piece of territory—once refused us for reasons of national pride—was found impossible to carry out. It was on this plot, some fifteen years ago, that the famous session of the Indian National Congress was held, in which the extremist Tilak threw a shoe at the presidential chair to signalize his breach with the less advanced of the Congress party.

The records which have come down to us respecting the British factory—that is, of course, a factory not in the sense of a mill, but only in the seventeenth-century signification of a merchants' college and warehouse—portray a life, led by the English merchants, which was a strange mixture of work and glory, pleasure and misery. They, or some of them, performed a vast degree of solid, careful labour at trading and book-keeping, but they were also careful to keep up all the pomp and state which impress an Oriental people, and further to preserve in India the habits of good living which were, perhaps, suitable to Merry England, but are deadly in India. The consequence is seen to this day in the extensive and populous old English cemetery, which is one of the sights of Surat. In those times a notable Englishman was not content with a modest tomb, but his survivors erected over him a shrine not unlike a Taj Mahal in miniature. The old Surat cemetery is consequently a forest of domes and pinnacles, and sight-seers love to visit there the imposing sepulchre of the great President of the Surat factory, Sir George Oxenden, or trace the inscription of him "who went unmarried to the heavenly nuptials in the year of Christ 1649," or of Mistress

Mary Price,* who, "through the spotted veil of smallpox, rendered a pure and unspotted soul to God."

Next to the English cemetery is the Dutch, with structures vying with the British in height, though not in number; and next, again, is a large Armenian enclosure representing the almost extinct Armenian trading community of India. When I was in Surat I was approached by an Armenian gentleman of Calcutta to try to preserve all that remained of an Armenian chapel then open to the sky and apparently being robbed by amateur stone-breakers.

Mention of the Armenians leads one to another and kindred immigrant race in India—the Parsees. These folk, as is well known, do not bury, or have only just begun to do so, but lay their dead on the top of extensive round towers, which are usually prominent objects in the landscape, wherever they are built. The Parsees are an important and notable element in the life of Surat, and their sacred metropolitan village of Udwāda is within the Surat District. Many streets in Surat City are devoted to the Parsees, whose benefactions and communal buildings are conspicuous. If not in Surat, then in the neighbouring city of Broach, the scene may still be witnessed of Parsee women fetching water, barefooted, from the rivers or wells, instead of, as in Bombay, daintily treading the streets in Paris shoes and rainbow-coloured hoods. With their mentality directed eastward and westward at once, the Parsees proved useful intermediaries to the English traders, and helped with the English to build up the empire in Gujerat and Western India, as designers of sailing ships, commercial agents, and assistants in nearly every walk of life.

Gazing at the broad, yet not too broad or unfriendly, Tapti River at Surat, where the sea is not far away, but the water is half salt, and the ebb and flow of the tide is daily discernible, one can realize what a tempting gateway this estuary was to the English newcomer. At Surat, while he had hardly left his second home, the open sea, only fifteen

miles away, and could feel that he was directly facing the ocean which could bear him to Europe, he was yet carried deep enough into a rich, populous, and infinitely interesting land to afford him a wide field for his enterprise, and a source of wealth and power. The native people were industrious and skilful, and not naturally fierce, and the local rulers were men whom wise diplomacy could gradually bend to the traders' benefit. And when the hard-fought British victory over the Portuguese at Swally—a still existing village, where the Tapti enters the sea—proved to the Indians that these wandering traders, seemingly gentler folk than the overbearing Portuguese, were yet men of war, aye, and better men of war than the Portuguese, the Indian tolerance for the British changed to admiration, and, little by little, to dependence on them. When Sivaji, the Maratha free-booter and empire-builder, came ravaging to the gates of Surat in 1664, it was the British merchants under Sir George Oxenden who, like Pope Leo at Rome before Attila in the story, saved the city by their bold front. None the less, it was the Marathas, from the South, who became the rulers of Gujerat, in succession to the Mogul and his vassals, before the British from the West acquired any sovereignty, and it was as successors to the Marathas that the English, in 1800, became masters of the country, and established themselves in the strangely English-looking castle of Surat, a structure built by a Turk in the sixteenth century for the Mahomedan lords of the land, the Kings of Gujerat.

I have mentioned how easily the English must have found their way up the Tapti to perhaps the nearest town in all India to Europe. They may have also found in Surat, with its morning mists and dirty grey, rounded castle, some memories of the London they had left. My own first view of Surat, very early in the morning before the sun had thrown its golden enchantment on the worst squalor of the East, had not a little to remind me of the atmosphere of London. The roads had not yet been swept, the air was

damp and chill, and nearly two miles of shop-lined street lay between my railway station and the river, where, after encountering the ugly dull mass of the castle, I stepped on to a bridge, which commanded a quite Thames-like view of swart water and mouldering wharves. Scenes like this may well have made the silken East seem a little more homespun to the Elizabethan voyager.

So much, briefly, for the British origins of Surat. I will continue with an account of the present city. It lies within a wall which, with no artistic pretensions, is nearly continuous and in fair repair, for, say, five or six miles round the city in a half-moon, the base of the arc being the river front. From the midst of this front starts the plain Victorian iron bridge, which is named the Hope Bridge, after Sir Theodore Hope, the Collector who projected it. This bridge is painfully straight and ugly, but leads at once to a pleasant land of toddy-palm and cocoanut groves scattered among winding lanes. Next to the bridge are a few public buildings: the old church, the library, and the great castle, containing the chief Government offices. Next to the castle the municipality—a good municipality as Indian municipalities rank—has kept up a luxuriant public garden on the old glacis. The bridge is continued back across the middle of the city's breadth to the railway station, for a mile and a half, by a long and almost straight thoroughfare of husy shops of all kinds, well stocked with the cheap wares for which the richer Indian up-country opens his purse. At one place this road crosses a depression by a bold viaduct, and almost all its length is filled with a husy crowd of vehicles, not excluding motor-cars, and foot-passengers from morning till night. At the station end assemble quite a number of cinema shows. Surat prides itself on being rather up-to-date, and I used myself to feel that in some indefinable way the Surati was more familiarized with the Englishman, more readily adopted him into his civic communion, and shrank less, in fear or contempt, from his ways than do Indians elsewhere, as though three hundred years of vicinity to

this Western phenomenon had given the Surati some kind of proprietorship in him. When H.E. the Governor of Bombay visited Surat to stimulate recruiting for the war, he was gratified by the almost British cheers which welcomed him in the streets, a very rare demonstration in India.

For total population I do not know what the recently taken census will show, but in the last few decades it has remained stationary just above 100,000. The industries of Surat are not of the growing kind, and whilst the city is regarded by wealthy Indians as a pleasant place in which to settle and end their days, this immigration is counter-balanced by much emigration to British and other colonies. The Indian in South Africa, in Fiji, in Madagascar, in Siam, even so far afield as in New Zealand, is most frequently either from Surat City or Surat District. Rich and poor migrate to these places, but all who return seem to bring back plenty of money.

The Surat Collectorate did a creditable part in the Great War in supplying coolies as followers in France, Mesopotamia, and other fields. Many of these folk belonged to shy, backward, "aboriginal" races, who had lived hitherto as something like the hereditary serfs of Brahman or other landlords. When they were at last induced to face the terrors of khaki, they comforted themselves by saying: "Now we shall have *our* South Africa," by which they meant a land of gold such as South Africa had proved to their luckier neighbours; and a small gold-mine military service did prove to several thousands of them.

But I left my topographical account waiting in Surat's long High Street, which nearly bisects the half-circle forming the city. The offshoots of this High Street mostly run at right angles to it, but the whole enclosure of the walls is not quite filled up with streets. Surat has suffered repeatedly both from fire and flood—luckily not from famine, the rainfall being reliable—and in the south of the city, besides a great dry, step-lined lake, the Gopi Talao, are waste spaces where one can lose oneself and almost forget

one is inside a town wall ; and in the north-east are many rows of well-planned and reasonably broad and straight thoroughfares which have been rebuilt since the greatest fire. It was perhaps these floods and fires which partly operated to fill up Surat's healthy young rival, Bombay, where the Gujerati-speaking section of the people can largely be traced to a removal from Surat.

I have said a little about the Surat Parsees. Some other leading communities, not forgetting the tiny British colony, deserve mention. The Mahomedans are numerous and, as usual in India, chiefly poor. The head of the Surat Sunnis is still the gentleman who represents the old Nawábs of Surat, a protégé of the British Government, and he lives in a fine old palace just within the walls. Here at every Mohurram, before a seething crowd of spectators, the *tolis*, or Hasan and Husein funeral parties, from every quarter of the city collect their *tazias* at midnight to perform their torchlight dances and pay their homage to the titular Nawáb. The present senior holder of the title received a sword of honour after the war for cheerfully lending a fine old mansion, the old Bank of Bombay, for a recruiting depot.

A richer community than the dependants of the Nawáb are the Shiah Borahs, followers of a much venerated and enlightened High Priest, who, as merchants, amass money all over the East and bring it to Surat to spend or hoard. Across the Tapti, a mile upstream, at the old city of Rander, live thousands of Borahs of a totally different Musulman sect, also largely merchants, the Sunni Borahs, a race who from collective experience could give a pretty good description of the British Empire, and perhaps of other parts of the world. Losing my way once many miles from Surat, and overtaken by darkness, the first human creature whom I met was a Surat Musulman, who aired excellent French to me. He had lived in Mauritius (which is an old French colony).

Of the Hindoos, in a broad sense, the most prominent castes are the Jain Banias, who have largely been pearl

merchants, and the Anavla and Auditshastra or other Brahmans, who supply, besides other professional men, most intelligent clerks in the Government offices.

Very typical, too, are the Kolis, a unique race of hardy seamen, fishermen, and labourers, whose neatly clad women are as hardworking and bold as the men. Only one great fault have these people—over-fondness for the toddy cup, which the countless riverside palms (under Government control) supply, and for the less wholesome factory-made liquor which Government distils for the Indian public-house. Surat has the credit or discredit of being perhaps the most drunken place in India. Here again perhaps we have a trace of fashions set by the old English merchant adventurers; but potations which would be taken as moderate in England would create scandal or alarm in frugal, well-regulated India. Like the wild tribes the Surat Kolis did yeoman service (as lascars) in the war, very many, alas! being drowned in torpedoed ships; but they earned rich wages, and their loyalty, well paid or ill paid, never wavered. They are a cheery folk, of a Brahmanism so recent as to be almost of historical origin, and they are a valuable asset in the growing prosperity of India.

Descending lower in the caste hierarchy, we come to the much prized Surati domestic servants. Biologically these persons are, I think, merely a subdivision of the Dhed or village scavenger race who have specialized in private service. No doubt they began as servants to the early European traders. Now their descendants are much sought after by those English folk who wish for intelligent and adaptable servants, and do not object to their "untouchability" according to Brahman ideas. Unfortunately these servants are now very hard to obtain, and perhaps scarcest of all in Surat itself.

A word now as to the smallest but still most important caste in Surat, the English, and as to the chief institutions of the town and its surroundings, and this slight sketch will be finished.

Till the sixties the English maintained troops at Surat. These are no longer needed, though when, in 1919, Mr. Gandhi's anti-Government movement caused murderous and destructive riots in neighbouring Ahmedabad, 200 Sikhs were drafted into the city for a few days as a precaution, and quartered at the railway station and in the castle. The old military lines, pleasantly placed along the river between the ancient city and the official bungalows, are now occupied by the police. Surat, though it suffered about the sixties from a serious brief affray between Parsees and Mahomedans, is a peaceful district, and the inhabitants are uncommonly law-abiding. The city has its small and ardent group of political extremists, but they have made less way perhaps here than in most places ; and the town possesses, or possessed till lately, in the *Surat Mitra* one of the few loyalist newspapers in India. The head of the district has more than once been an Indian, but the European community usually includes the Collector-Magistrate, the Superintendent of Police, a Superintendent of Customs and Excise, a " Bank-walla," and often the District Judge, with perhaps the manager of the liquor distillery, an institution which is likely to be soon removed. These officers and their womenfolk, with the Irish Presbyterian missionaries, are wont to gather daily or almost daily after the evening's airing, at the little shed of a club overlooking a broad and palm-fringed stretch of the Tapti. The Irish missionaries have taken a large part in the educational and general communal and intellectual life of Surat, and their printing press is a famous one. The missionaries are broad-minded men and women, well educated, and devoted to the general upraising of the inhabitants in a way which extends beyond the mere idea of their spiritual salvation, and they are popular with Indian and English alike.

Doubtless the earliest English at Surat kept entirely within their factory, which yet exists as the residence of a courteous old Parsee gentleman. Later on they ventured out into bungalows, down the river and near the city, many

of which remain, now for the most part in Indian occupation; and, following the usual trend of events, the English have had to find themselves dwellings farther and farther out as the Indian city extended. But they naturally cling to the health-giving, sea-scented river, where, on the hottest days—and the days in Surat can be cruelly hot, with an indescribably burdensome clammy heat, while the cold weather is a matter of a few days—on the hottest days the rising sea-tide will fill the town with a fresh breeze as through a funnel. By the river, then, the English generally dwell, where they can gaze out towards the Gulf of Cambay, where the river-mouth is guarded still by the whitewashed lighthouse-like tomb of the old factor Vaux, there drowned, and on the opposite side, beyond the large Koli village of Swally, by a greater mausoleum among the sand-dunes, very doubtfully said to be that of the crazy seventeenth-century wanderer, Tom Coryat. When I myself found this tomb after much search among the sandhills, the villagers were unable to tell me anything more about it than that it was a holy shrine (*devdi*).

A mental picture of Surat below the bridge would give us in order the following points of interest: the old castle with its public offices, the Bank of Bombay, the public garden, the old quays, French, Dutch, or other, the villas of some rich Indians, the "French Garden," which I have described, the English Club, the parade ground of the old cantonment, the little so-called "dockyard"—shadow of Surat's old shipbuilding activities—where the Customs boats lie along a tiny jetty, the Collector's small new bungalow, unimposing but compact and well placed, and then pleasant riverside country stretching for ten miles, beside Koli villages and cotton fields and palm orchards, to where, at Dumas on the coast, a small ruling chief, who gave loyal service in the war, has his palace and a hot-weather garden city along the sea-sands, to which in modern style he seeks to attract the jaded citizens of Bombay.

We may perhaps quit Surat here, at the open sea, from

which the old voyagers turned inland to reach it. Much might have been said of Surat handicrafts, still represented each by its street of workers, though little remains of any artistic interest. And with these industries I must also dismiss the two or three large cotton mills—overshadowed in importance by the sixty, or it must be now a hundred chimneys of Ahmedabad, 100 miles away—and the silk industry, which, having gone through many vicissitudes, now seems inclined to revive. I have hardly touched, either, on Surat's educational activities, on which it prides itself, on the excellent Dufferin Hospital, on the large and beautiful Demonstration and Experimental Farm of the Agricultural Department, on the well-planned water-works upstream, near the great railway bridge, or on the somewhat small but most interesting territory of the Collectorate and Political Agency, of which Surat City is the headquarters. But I trust I have said enough to bring before you at least a dim and imperfect picture of the loyal and dignified city which was the cradle of our Indian Empire.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, June 20, 1921, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, at which a paper was read by Mr. A. L. Emanuel, M.A. (Oxon.), I.C.S., entitled "The City of Surat : Our Old Gateway to India." The Rt. Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., O.C.S.I., O.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., occupied the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present : H.H. the Maharao of Cutch, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., the Right Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Colonel Sir E. Charles Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr. S. H. Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. T. Sommers, C.I.E., Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Miss Scatterd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Duncan Irvine, the Rev. Dr. R. H. Durham, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. H. R. H. Hemming, Mr. Ed. Cazalet, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Miss Ryan, Lieut.-Colonel S. H. Dantra, I.M.S., Mr. N. N. Wadia, Mr. S. Nell, Mr. and Mrs. H. Batty, Mr. Headley Storey, Miss Irwin, Mr. T. H. Knolles, Miss Haldinstein, Miss Beadon, Miss J. K. Donald, Colonel S. H. Roberts, Mr. Frank L. Emanuel, Miss Apperson, Mr. J. E. Potter-Wilson, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. K. P. Kotval, Mr. M. S. Master, Mr. Bal Krishna, Mrs. Drury, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : I call upon Mr. Emanuel to read his paper.

The LECTURER : Your lordship, ladies and gentlemen, before I start reading the paper itself, there are one or two prefatory words I should like to say. The first is that I am afraid I have had to write this paper under slightly difficult circumstances, namely, that I was entirely divorced from my own books. I had not been home long from India, and in the exigencies of present affairs I had to get my books warehoused somewhere, and although one can do a good deal with libraries, they are not quite the same thing as one's own books. Secondly, I am afraid there may be a good many inaccuracies in the few remarks I am going to make, but I hope there are plenty of gentlemen here to-day who will be ready to point them out ; I shall be only too pleased. My only excuse for offering this paper at all is that I am fond of Surat. I had a good many months there, and was consequently pretty familiar with it, and I used to be constantly wandering about its picturesque streets. Besides wandering about the town, I supplemented that direct information to a considerable extent by reading books on Surat, and some of that information has stuck, and I have tried to incorporate it in my paper. In particular I would like to mention a very recent book on Surat by my friend Prof. Rawlinson which is called "British Beginnings in Western India," published by the Clarendon Press. That book contains some pictures of Surat, which I would like to have reproduced here. I mention that book as one which I have read, and the results of which I hope as far as possible I have incorporated in this paper.

The other thing is as to the pronunciation of the word "Súrat." I find myself already calling it "Surát," and not "Súrat," which it is called by the inhabitants; and that is how the word sounds as written in the Gujerati language; and I fancy that is more etymologically correct, and therefore more correct for all purposes; but for some reason it is a difficult word to fit one's tongue to, and it comes more natural to call the place Surát. I suppose it is an Arabic word really, and I rather think that in Arabic the word "Súrat" means beauty.

The lecture was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Is there anyone who wishes to address the meeting?

Mr. COTTON, while congratulating the Lecturer on the excellence of his paper, said there was one matter with regard to which he was obliged to offer a word of comment. He could not agree with the Lecturer's description of Tom Coryat as a crazy seventeenth-century wanderer. The probability was that if he were alive to-day he would be the subject of columns in the newspapers, and in any case he could not help thinking that the "Odcombian leg-stretcher," as he loved to style himself, was deserving of a better fate in the remembrance of the reader of the paper. A reference to Mr. William Foster's excellent volume of "Early Travels in India" would show that a very different estimate had been formed by that authority. In Mr. Foster's opinion Coryat had a true gift of observation, and if he had lived to publish a full account of his Indian journey it would have ranked in all probability as high as the works of Fryer and Tavernier. As a matter of fact, he was really a humorous fellow, and not a bit crazy, unless craziness consisted in the feat he had accomplished of walking all the way to India by way of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Aleppo, and then on to Tahriz, and thence from Kandahar to Ajmere, where he spent some fourteen months with Sir Thomas Roe. He died at Surat in December, 1617, and it would be interesting to know if the Lecturer had been able to trace his tomb in any way. It was said that he was buried with two small stones, one at the head and one at the foot—without any inscription—on the west side of the road leading to Broach outside the city on the north. The large mausoleum among the sand-dunes at Rajgari near Swally was no doubt simply a Mohammedan monument, although the Admiralty chart might describe it as "Tom Coryat's Tomb."

With regard to the rest of the paper, perhaps he was not a competent judge, but he had been unable to find any inaccuracies in it; on the contrary, he regarded it as an admirable summary of the history of modern and ancient Surat. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. OWEN DUNN said the paper which had been read had revived in his mind many pleasant memories of a short official period spent in Surat in 1883—before Lord Reay went to India—and there were one or two points which occurred to him. The Lecturer had told them the city of Surat was celebrated for "fires and floods," but there was another "f" they used to attach to the place, which was characteristic of it—*i.e.*, "fleas." (Laughter.) Fires, floods, and fleas used to be said to characterize Surat. He might also mention another "f." There was a fig-garden, as far as he could remember, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the railway station,

where they used to have evening parties; they used to pay eight annas a head, and they were allowed to eat as many of the luscious fruits as they liked.

With reference to the Surat Musulman who spoke excellent French, it reminded him that he once had a *patiwalla* (*chinprassi*) who also spoke French excellently, and he also had been in Mauritius under the French. In describing the European population the Lecturer had given the titles of the Collector and the Superintendents of Police and Customs, and so on, but there was no reference to any Executive Engineer! Perhaps there was not one there now? or maybe only an assistant. He had been Assistant Engineer there at one time and he had a good deal to do with the designing of the system of protection works for the city against floods; he did not know whether they had been carried out or not, but he believed they had to a certain extent—and he felt he ought to resent the fact that the Executive Engineer was not mentioned amongst the others (laughter) in the paper, which otherwise was exceedingly interesting, and gave a very accurate description of the city of Surat. (Hear, hear.)

The SECRETARY, in thanking the Lecturer for his paper, said it was not very often they were able to get the services of up-to-date men to read papers, and it was very rare to get men willing to occupy their leave hours in giving such a paper as Mr. Emanuel had done. He had only just come home from India, and they ought to be especially grateful to him. (Hear, hear.) In his preliminary remarks he had stated that Surat probably meant "beauty." He had a sort of impression, although he did not profess to be a scholar in West Indian languages, that Surat really meant "form" or "shape." An Indian friend present confirmed that impression, but he could not vouch for its accuracy except on the information he had received. Probably Surat by itself was intended to mean "beautiful form."

As memories had been awakened in Mr. Dunn, so also were his memories awakened, but not about Surat. It reminded him very much of a place in India called Tranquehar—an old Danish settlement—whose name, like Surat, had even less affinity to the original. He did not wish to dilate on the particular features of Tranquehar, except to say that the general description of Surat might almost be applied to it. One point that occurred to his mind was an incident when he went out fishing one day in a catamaran; in talking to the fishermen he asked how they spent their money, and they replied, "Chiefly in drink;" and on being asked, Supposing they got more money? replied, "More drink," saying that their life on the sea was so hard that they could not do without it! That was their explanation, and it went a long way towards explaining the drunkenness which they were told prevailed. He would also like to add a fifth "f" to Mr. Dunn's four. Surat to the ordinary Englishman might chiefly be known because of the fanatics which appeared at the time when the Congress was broken up.

At this juncture the Maharao of Cutch arrived at the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, before continuing the discussion, it gives me the greatest pleasure to be able to give a most cordial welcome to His Highness the Maharao of Cutch (Hear, hear), whom I left in Bombay almost a boy, and whom I now greet as a man of mature years, but,

I have not the slightest doubt, as keen as ever he was to benefit his own country as a most loyal feudatory of His Majesty the King-Emperor. (Hear, hear.) It is a striking feature of Indian progress that the Maharao comes here as a representative of India on a most important mission. I am sure that, when we last met, if anybody had told us the next time we should meet the Maharao would be representing India at this Conference, it would have been thought a dream. (Hear, hear.) Now it is a fact, and I am sure the Maharao will discharge his mandate with tactful sagacity. I was delighted when I saw that he would be the representative of India, because of his long career, and it has been a most distinguished career. We may congratulate Cutch on having had for so long a time so admirable a ruler. I hope that His Highness will prolong his visit to England, and I hope that the result of the business transacted at the Conference will lead to the greater prosperity of the British Empire, its Dominions, and India. In your name I extend to His Highness a most cordial welcome, and thank him for his kindness in coming here to-day. (Hear, hear.)

H.H. THE MAHARAO OF CUTCH said it had been a great pleasure to him to attend the meeting. He had had a most important engagement with the Secretary of State for India, and anxious as he was to attend, he was not sure he would have been able to do so, but he found the interview was over sooner than he expected, which had enabled him to attend. He little expected to be given such a cordial welcome as he had received. In Lord Reay he felt that he had a very old friend—one of the best—and he was exceedingly grateful to him for the kind references he had made to him personally, and to the affairs of India, in reference to the Imperial Cabinet meeting. He could only say that all right-thinking Indians wished to see the relations of the Empire cemented as firmly as possible. (Hear, hear.) And he wished to state on behalf of himself personally and his brother Princes, whose territories formed one-third of the Indian Empire, that no one could be more loyal than they were. (Hear, hear, and applause.) He was afraid his visit had caused an interruption of the discussion, and therefore he would conclude by thanking everyone present most cordially for the kind reception he had received. (Hear, hear.)

THE CHAIRMAN : We have had a very interesting lecture on Surat, which will not be unknown to Your Highness, and I beg to move a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Emanuel for his very clear and admirable description of Surat, which is certainly one of the most interesting spots in India. (Hear, hear.) I am glad to hear that the cemeteries, which are so full of the records of the past, are well kept up, and that the necessary money is forthcoming for their preservation ; they are very interesting, and I found there the names of many Europeans who played a part in their day.

With regard to Surat, fires and floods were mentioned, and I remember on one occasion while I was Governor a terrible fire breaking out. I heard of it and left immediately for Surat, and when I arrived it was nearly subdued. What struck me most was that, in the absence of the higher authorities in the districts, the city was in charge of quite a youth. I wish I could remember his name, and if by any chance he should be in this audience I hope he will at once make himself known. I trust he will

read our discussion to-day, because I wish to say that I found he had done everything which was required ; a grey-haired man could not have done better, and it was to me a confirmation of the admirable services rendered in critical circumstances to the population of India. I asked the people, who were all very perturbed by the fire, whether anything further could be done, and they all admitted that nothing could have been done better than this young official had already done. It was remarkable that there was perfect order. I am sure if there had been a calamity of that sort in London there would not have been the orderly scene that I found in Surat.

Well, that is one of my recollections of Surat. Then I was very glad the Lecturer paid such a cordial tribute to the work of the Irish missionaries. In the present disastrous condition of Irish affairs we must be thankful Ireland is so well represented in India. It is a remarkable fact that the Irish members of the Civil Service—and Dr. Pollen justifies this observation—seem to be extremely well received by the Indians, and that is a fact which must not be forgotten at this moment ; we are apt to forget that there are very gifted and loyal Irishmen.

Now I have only one or two further remarks to make. It is very important, of course, that the Dufferin Hospital should be maintained. With regard to the Demonstration and Experimental Farm, I heard recently that there was some danger of the very famous breed of cattle there becoming extinct, and I should like to know if the Lecturer can give us any reassuring statement, because they were very fine cattle. I was glad to see the reference to the Nawab of Sachin. I remember the Nawab of my day as a Chief with whom it was a pleasure to have dealings, and I hope the present one follows in his footsteps.

In conclusion, I may say that the lecture gives a very good description of one of the most picturesque and interesting cities. I gather that after the fire it was very quickly restored. It is remarkable how soon reconstruction took place there when we see how difficult it is to have reconstruction in France after the war. I will now ask Mr. Emanuel to reply to some of the questions which have been put to him, and I beg to move again that our best thanks be given to him for this very interesting lecture. (Hear, hear.)

Miss SCATCHERD said that Dr. Pollen had followed his usual practice of sending a letter, and she would just like to read the part which referred to Mr. Emanuel's paper, which was as follows :

"I have read Mr. Emanuel's paper with deep pleasure and appreciation. I have spent many pleasant days at Surat with 'Lot's wife,' and the Tapti was the first river I knew in India. Don't be startled at the allusion to 'Lot's wife.' She was merely an 'official wife,' the name of the Government yacht built by Sir Charles Pritchard to help the 'King of Salt and Lord of Lighthouses' (*i.e.*, the collector of salt, *ahkari*, and opium for the time being) to protect the salt revenue. She was known as the 'Pillar of Salt,' and many is the happy day I spent on board sailing round the West Coast.

"Reading Mr. Emanuel's paper recalled many pleasant memories of the

'one-time greatest city of Western India,' and of the group of 'rocky jungle islands,' now 'Bombay the Beautiful.'

"I don't think Mr. Emanuel has said half enough about the Parsees—the Pilgrim Fathers from Persia—those enterprising traders and intermediaries who have always *preceded* the British flag, not merely followed it.

"I should prefer to call Sivaji 'the Clan Leader and Empire Builder.' At first he was really a kind of Scot Chief, and led his great clan to proud pre-eminence. And I think 'rainbow-coloured hoods' is a description that hardly does justice to the lovely graceful Grecian Saris of the Bombay ladies. Would that our sisters of the Western Strand would adopt similar robes instead of the varied and variegated Parisian motley creations they pile up in every shape and form upon their pretty heads. But a mere man must not criticize!

"Congratulating and thanking Mr. Emanuel, and hoping that both the General Meeting and the paper may prove a great success, I am, with kindest remembrances to Lord Reay and you all,

"(Signed) J. POLLEN."

The CHAIRMAN: You must allow me to add just one further observation, and that is, with how much pleasure I saw that Sir Theodore Hope was not forgotten, and that his name is kept alive by the Hope Bridge. He was one of the most distinguished representatives of the Indian Civil Service in my day, and therefore I am glad to see that his name is still kept in veneration by the present Government.

Now I will ask Mr. Emanuel to answer the questions.

The LECTURER, in reply, said that although the paper had not been a very controversial one, he was glad to see that it had evoked so many pleasant memories and so many friendly criticisms. As to Mr. Cotton's remarks on Tom Coryat, he felt he ought to apologize to Tom Coryat's shade for having called him "crazy"; he was merely using the sort of epithet which was always applied to him. He agreed that the title was probably not in the least deserved, and if Tom Coryat had been living to-day he would no doubt be found addressing learned societies, and would be generally fêted and petted. As to his tomb, he agreed with Mr. Cotton that the great structure on the sand-hills was probably not really his tomb; it was far too grand an edifice to have been built over such a wanderer as he was, but it was still kept up by the Public Works Department, and annually whitewashed, and was referred to in all the maps as "Tom Coryat's Tomb." Coryat was far more likely to have been buried on the Broach Road across the river, and his real grave must have unfortunately been allowed to perish.

With regard to Mr. Dunn's observation that he had not referred to the Executive Engineer, the reason for that, no doubt, was that in his time the Executive Engineer was not an Englishman, and he was only giving a list of the English colony. He did not know whether Mr. Dunn was the last of the English engineers or not, but either his or some other engineer's flood-gates, he was glad to say, were still in a state of preservation and doing very good work, especially near the Judge's bungalow.

As to the "f's" in Surat, he was glad to say they had no fanatics such as

Mr. Rice remembered in Tranquebar. Floods and fires he had been luckily spared in his time, and he hoped that the breed of fleas had perished; he certainly did not come across them, and he was sorry that he had never come across the fig-garden referred to. He might say that the old tomb of Vaux which still existed at the mouth of Tapti, and which was used as a lighthouse, was a very merry place for picnics with the old factors—rather a queer sort of ending for a sepulchre.

He agreed with Mr. Rice as to the meaning of the word *Súrat*; it did properly mean form, and not beauty; and he supposed that, just as in Latin, where *forma* meant both "form" and "beauty," the Indians identified those two words.

Perhaps he ought also to make an apology to Sivaji for calling him a freebooter. He had a great admiration for his clansmen and for Sivaji himself, but he could not help thinking he was at the same time both a freebooter and an Empire-builder.

Then, Dr. Pollen in his letter regretted that he had not said more about the Parsees. Well, the only reason for that was that he thought the character and the habits of the Parsees and their works were so well known. They were another caste in India for whom he had the greatest admiration, and he numbered many friends among the Parsees.

The Chairman had expressed a hope that the Gujarati cattle had not been allowed to die out. He was glad to say that they had been preserved by another much-honoured Governor of Bombay, Lord Northcote. He did not know whether anyone present knew the Gujarati cattle, but they were most beautiful beasts, snowy white, and of enormous strength and placidity. They had been nearly wiped out by the great famine in 1900, but Lord Northcote had managed to get a few together and preserve them and started a completely new cattle farm with them west of Ahmedabad, and he hoped that gradually the Gujarati farms would be restocked with them, although they were not yet much in evidence.

One final word he would like to be permitted to say, and that was to thank the Chairman for so kindly staying on for the lecture, and honouring him by his presidency, when he was afraid a long sitting might possibly be somewhat of a trial to him. He would also specially like to express his pleasure at seeing again for the first time since he had the pleasure of meeting him in India His Highness the Maharao of Cutch. He wondered whether he remembered coming to Larkána in Northern Sind, where he had the pleasure of meeting him, and where he was especially struck by seeing that the great loyalty which His Highness displayed towards the British Ráj was equalled by the loyalty of His Highness's own subjects, who flocked round him in large numbers, immensely pleased to get a sight of their own ruling Chief.

The vote of thanks to the Lecturer was then put to the meeting, and carried with acclamation.

On the proposition of Mr. Pennington, seconded by Mr. Hemming—who said that he was a contemporary of Lord Reay's when he was in Bombay, and well recollected his work out there in India—a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Chairman, and carried unanimously.

The proceedings then terminated.

THE SUKKUR BARRAGE PROJECT AND EMPIRE COTTON

BY THOMAS SUMMERS, C.I.E., D.SC., M.I.C.E.

GLOSSARY

<i>Words.</i>	<i>Meanings.</i>
Bale . . .	400 pounds.
Bersim . . .	Egyptian clover.
Bowl rahi . . .	Crops grown in the rabi season on land previously flooded from a canal in the inundation season.
Bund . . .	Embankment (generally applied to river embankments).
"Capital invested"	The "capital invested" in any work includes direct and indirect charges and all accumulation of interest.
Crore . . .	100 lakhs.
Cusecs . . .	Cubic feet per second.
Discharge . . .	The discharge of a river or canal at any point is the number of cusecs passing that point.
Doab . . .	The tract of land between two rivers.
Dry crop . . .	In Sind, any crop except rice or sugar-cane.
Full supply . . .	The maximum supply carried by a canal.
Hari . . .	A field worker.
Intensity of cultivation . . .	The percentage of the cultivable area cultivated in one year.
Inundation . . .	Season when rivers are in flood.
Jagir land . . .	Land granted revenue free, either in perpetuity or resumable in part on the death of the guarantees.
Kharif season . . .	Inundation or flood season (April to September).
KMSL . . .	Karachi mean sea-level.
Lakh . . .	100,000 (Rs. 100,000 = £10,000 at Rupees 10 = £1).
Maund . . .	80 pounds.
Productive work	According to the P.W.D. Code, to admit of a project being classed as a productive public work, "there must be good reason to believe that the revenue derived from it will, in the case of an irrigation project, within ten years after the probable date of its completion, repay the interest on the capital invested."
Protective work . . .	Works designed as a protection against famine, the capital for which is usually met from the annual grant under Famine, Relief, and Insurance.
Rabi season . . .	The cold weather season, when the river is low (October to March).
R.L. . . .	Reduced level (in Sind, height above KMSL).
Seepage . . .	Water returned to the river—when its level falls—from its banks (see Paper on Development of Cotton in India, p. 35).
Silt . . .	Sediment brought down from the mountains by the river
Sind Sudhar . . .	Sind Improvement (Sindhi name for Rohri Canal).
Volume . . .	Same as discharge.
Zamindar . . .	Land-owner.

REASONS FOR LECTURE

SEVEN years ago I read a paper before the East India Association on this subject, a subject to which I have devoted my undivided attention for nearly twenty years, and if I return to it again it is because the latest phase of a question of vital importance to Sind is the sanction by the Secretary of State for India of a project estimate involving an expenditure of probably twenty to twenty-five millions sterling. This project, in my opinion, is dangerous from the engineering point of view, and will prove a gigantic financial failure. It is therefore not in the best interests of India, in which I have spent all the best years of my life.

DESCRIPTION OF SIND

Sind is a country in many respects not unlike Egypt. They have both been formed by the natural deposition of silt through countless centuries, and consequently have practically inexhaustible soil, if only a proper system of cultivation is followed. The rainfall, which is very scanty and precarious, averages about six inches, but in one year out of five it is less than two inches, so that as far as irrigation is concerned it is negligible. The land, fertile enough as long as water is procurable, would, in the absence of irrigation, be an arid and barren waste. But just as Egypt has the Nile, Sind has the Indus, which carries bountiful perennial supplies.

In the time of Alexander the Great, as gathered from old records, the Indus flowed on the top of the great ridge which runs along its left bank from Sukkur to Hyderabad, till about 900 years ago, when it left the ridge for a lower level, as clearly shown on the sketch map of Sind (Fig. 3).

The level of this ridge has been raised as follows: When a river like the Indus overflows its banks it deposits silt on each side in the form of a flat embankment. This may go on for many years, till the river breaks away from the land which it has raised, taking another course and

repeating the process, so that in time great areas of land are raised. It is recorded that when the Indus flowed on the top of this ridge, Alexander sailed down it from Sukkur past the town of Nawabshah, which is destined to become a large cotton centre. It is also said that the great city of Brahmanabad used to be on the bank of the Indus.

I have known the Indus to change its course by six miles in one day owing to its cutting across a great bend.

Sind has hitherto been irrigated by means of inundation canals, which receive a deficient or plentiful supply, depending upon the height of the inundation. These canals have been of great use, and now irrigate about three and a half million acres annually, including a million acres of rice. There is need, however, of a more assured supply of water than inundation canals can give, especially in parts of Sind, which are particularly suited for cotton cultivation, and the better kinds of long-staple cotton require water for a longer period than that at which the river is at a high inundation level.

SIND'S THREE BARRAGE PROJECTS

The Province naturally divides itself into three tracts—Upper, Central, and Lower Sind—which, it is anticipated, will in time be irrigated by perennial canals taking their supplies from the river above weirs at Kashmor, Sukkur, and Kotri.

This paper deals with Central Sind, which is by far the largest and best of the tracts. The fate of Upper and Lower Sind will be decided by the success or failure of the Sukkur Barrage Project, so that every endeavour should be made to make it a success.

AREA OF CULTIVABLE LAND

There are about fourteen million acres of cultivable land in Sind, out of which only four million are cultivated, so that ten million acres, much of which is capable of growing good cotton, lies waste every year simply for want of water.

THE INDUS AT SUKKUR: ITS VOLUME AND LEVEL. (See Appendix I.)

The Indus as shown on the sketch-map flows from north to south through the province, from Kashmor to Keti Bunder, a distance of 300 miles as the crow flies, and 400 as the river winds, the curves adding roughly about 33 per cent.

This great river carries ample water to irrigate over 12 million acres in the hot weather season and 8 millions in the cold weather, or say 20 million acres in all. In time, if rice is restricted to its present area of a million acres, and when the ordinary Sindi Zamindar has been taught to realize that, within certain limits, less water gives better crops, the Indus will have ample water to irrigate 25 million acres. Thus, there is now, and is likely to be for generations, sufficient water to irrigate two crops annually on every acre of cultivable land in Sind—*i.e.*, 200 per cent. of the cultivable area, which is the intensity aimed at in Egypt, when fully developed.

COTTON AND WHEAT GROWING IN SIND

There is a general impression that India is not destined to add much to the Empire's cotton crop. For instance, the *Indiaman* of December 29, 1916, remarked in an article on Lancashire and Indian cotton, that "the Council of the British Cotton-Growing Association, in conference with representatives of spinners and operatives, take a somewhat gloomy view of Indian cotton." Again, in an article on "Poverty and Waste in India," in the *Times of India* in June, 1920, it was stated that "the very large irrigation works in India are nearly complete."

From the above remarks it seems that Sind is still looked upon by many as a great sandy desert, quite incapable of adding much to the Empire's resources in the way of cotton and wheat, not to speak of sugar-cane, rice, and other food crops.

The remark in the *Times of India* as to the large irrigation works in India being nearly complete shows how little is known about this great Province and its three barrage projects, which together will cost about £50,000,000.

It seems to me that one reason why a large quantity of cotton is not expected from Sind is that in statistics Sind cotton is generally included in the returns for the whole Bombay Presidency, so that the great producing power of Sind soil is lost sight of.

For example, the average yield of cotton for the whole Presidency is about 85 pounds per acre, while the average yield in Sind is about 160 pounds, and in 1906—a very good year—the average yield of cotton in Sind was 250 pounds per acre. Considerably larger yields have been obtained from small areas, but with perennial canals an average of 250 pounds may be taken for good cotton tracts in which cotton has been grown for generations.

THE ROHRI CANAL TRACT

Consider the Rohri Canal Tract alone, as it is the best cotton-growing soil in Sind, and I think I may safely say in India.

In a speech as President of the British Cotton-Growing Association, on June 7, 1921, Lord Derby stated that the total amount of cotton produced in new fields in the British Empire during 1920 was 105,800 hales (400 pounds) of an estimated value of £3,600,000 (£34 per bale).

Now, as shown in Appendix II., the lowest estimate by the two agricultural experts of the area of cotton which might be grown on the Rohri Canal was 800,000 acres. The Cotton Committee of 1918, however, estimated a much lower area of 470,000, of which they allowed 60 per cent., or 280,000, as long-staple cotton.

Assuming that an average area of 600,000 acres will be grown annually, and that the yield will be 250 pounds per acre, the number of bales produced would be 375,000, and its value at £20 per bale would be £7,500,000.

Deducting the 40,000 bales now obtained from the Rohri Canal Tract, the net increase from this one canal alone would be well over 300,000 bales, and its value about £6,000,000.

Taking a moderate rate of construction for the canal, half of this cotton crop could be obtained in five years, and the whole of it in about eight years.

THE COTTON COMMITTEE OF 1918

On the three great projects under consideration in the Punjab, the Cotton Committee anticipate an area of 525,000 acres of cotton, of which 200,000 should be American. After discussing these projects, they point out in par. 38, that the construction of the Sukkur Barrage and the connected canals is "far more essential to the extension of long-staple cotton in India than any, or, in fact, all the projects mentioned above."

The Cotton Committee's forecast for long-staple cotton under the Sukkur Barrage Project Canals is 400,000 acres, compared with 200,000 acres under the three great Punjab projects.

WHEAT

In addition to this great quantity of cotton, Messrs. Baker and Lane, who made the revenue forecasts for the 1920 Project, guarantee an area of 800,000 acres of rabi from the Rohri Canal alone. As the present area of rabi in the tract is only 100,000 acres, this means an addition of 700,000 acres, mostly wheat, to the Empire's resources.

They also anticipate that when fully developed the area of rabi crops on this canal may increase to 1,350,000 acres. Those figures show the urgent necessity for the early development of Sind by perennial canals.

SIND'S IRRIGATION AT A STANDSTILL

In Appendix III. I have traced the progress of irrigation in Sind for seventy years. These figures show that for the first thirty years, ended 1883, the rate of increase was

20,000 acres per annum ; for the next fifteen, 60,000, and for the ten years ended 1908, it reached 100,000 acres per annum ; but even this was just half the rate of progress in the Punjab.

During the last ten years, ending 1919-20, however, since irrigation on the Jamrao and other canals has been developed, the area of irrigation has been at a standstill, while in the Punjab it has continued to increase at fully 200,000 acres per annum.

These figures speak for themselves, and show that Sind has a very strong claim to be developed.

HOW CAN THIS DEADLOCK BE REMOVED ?

The question now arises as to how this deadlock, which has continued for fifteen years, can be removed. Undoubtedly the best way to do this is to resume construction of the most urgent and most paying parts of the Sukkur Barrage Project.

The items of this project already carried out are :

- (1) The Nara Supply Channel, which was opened in 1859.
- (2) The Mithrao Canal, also opened in 1859.
- (3) The Jamrao Canal, opened in 1899.

The more important items still remaining are :

- (4) The Rohri Canal.
- (5) The Sukkur Barrage.
- (6) The Right Bank Canals.
- (7) The Nara River improvement works (see Appendix V.).

Colonel Fife, the originator of this project, urged very strongly that the Rohri Canal should be put in hand before the Jamrao, but the Sind Committee of 1892 considered that the Jamrao Canal was more urgent.

As the Rohri Canal is looked upon by everyone as the most urgent work in Sind, it should undoubtedly be the next item on the programme, and the Nara River works should be postponed for reasons given in Appendix V.

The table given on the opposite page shows that while

about 50 per cent. of the cultivable area is at present cultivated in the Nara River and Right Bank Tracts, only 27 per cent. is cultivated in the Rohri Tract.

The table also shows that out of about 600,000 acres of lift cultivation, which will be turned into flow, 460,000 are in the Rohri Canal Tract.

This changing of lift into flow is the most important and urgent work which has to be done by the perennial canals, as it will not only bring in an immediate return, but will at once set free sufficient cultivators to treble the area now irrigated, as a man is able to cultivate three times as much by flow as he can by the laborious process of lift.

TABLE GIVING DETAILS OF PRESENT CULTIVATION

Canal Tract.	Cultivable Area.	Present Area of Cultivation.	Per Cent. of Cultivable Area.	Present Net Revenue.	Net Revenue per Acre of Cultivable Land.	Area at Present irrigated by Lift.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
	Acres.	Acres.	Per Cent.	Lakha.	Rs.	Acres.
Rohri ...	2,500,000	673,000	27	12	0'5	460,000
Nara River	1,269,000	568,680	45	15	1'2	50,000
Right Bank	1,772,000	992,069	56	19	1'1	90,000
	5,541,000	2,233,749	40	46		600,000

The figures in Columns 2 to 6 are from Messrs. Baker and Lane's 1920 Revenue Report.

THE SUKKUR BARRAGE PROJECT OF 1910

In 1910 the Commissioner in Sind (Mr. W. H. Lucas, C.S.I.) submitted the original Sukkur Barrage Project to the Government of Bombay. This project was for the Rohri Canal, followed by the barrage and by the Right Bank Canals, as a separate project, without having to bear a share of the barrage. Based on Mr. Lucas's forecasts of revenue, it was shown to satisfy the conditions required for a productive work. Unfortunately, owing to the fear of a

great and immediate fall in the level of the Indus at Sukkur, due to the withdrawals by the Punjab Triple Project Canals, the Chief Engineer, Bombay, did not approve of this Sind Project, and submitted to the Government of India a different project for the barrage followed by the Rohri Canal, the barrage to be completed before the canal was commenced, and the Right Bank Canals to follow as in the Sind Project. This project was hopeless as a productive work, and was not approved of by the Government of India.

THE SUKKUR BARRAGE PROJECT OF 1912

The first project estimate to improve the irrigational requirements of Sind which was submitted to the Secretary of State for sanction was that known as the Project of 1912. It was calculated to cost £7,820,000, and as the accumulation of interest charges to ten years after completion came to £1,190,000, the capital invested was £9,010,000. As the estimated net revenue was £386,000 in the same year, the return on the capital invested was 4·28 per cent.

This project was a large one and the first of its kind in Sind. The Secretary of State decided that it was necessary to have it scrutinized by a committee of expert engineers, and the engineers, after exhaustive examination, found themselves unable to recommend sanction, as, in their opinion, it would not be a productive work. The definition of a productive public work is that it shall cover the interest charges on the outlay (estimate and interest) ten years after completion. The interest on loans was, at that time, about 4 per cent., the margin of 0·28 per cent. was therefore small, and the committee, finding that the cost of construction was, in their opinion, underestimated, held that the scheme would not prove remunerative. The Secretary of State accordingly declined to sanction the estimate, and it was returned to the Government of India for reconsideration and with instructions to act on the advice of the Sukkur Barrage Committee.

THE SUKKUR BARRAGE COMMITTEE'S ADVICE

Weir Sites.—As there was nothing in the project report to show if any sites below the gorge had been considered, the Committee suggested, "as an alternative, that the possibilities of a site downstream of the gorge should be examined before the final estimate is prepared." In reply to a reference made to India on this point, while the Committee was sitting, the Chief Engineer, Bombay, reported that a site in the vicinity of the sewage outfall gauge would be unsuitable for reasons which he gave. The Committee agreed with the Chief Engineer that a site in the vicinity of the outfall would be unsuitable, and suggested that a suitable site might be found "a few miles farther downstream." They also said in par. 32 that from the remunerative aspect "it is possible that the only hope would lie in the direction of a scheme for a canal followed by a barrage as a definite project," and in par. 28 that "if the complete scheme is ever undertaken both canal and barrage should be simultaneously *completed*," not simultaneously *begun*, as proposed in the 1920 Project. As the canal would take longer to construct than the barrage, this meant that the barrage would follow the Rohri Canal. Investigations into the financial aspect of the different programmes of construction show that the Committee were right, and that on account of the enormous accumulation of interest charges, if the barrage is built first, and completed before the canals, the only safe project is that suggested by them, to begin the Rohri Canal and to follow it up by the barrage and Right Bank Canals.

THE SUKKUR BARRAGE PROJECT OF 1920

The project estimate of 1912 has now been followed by the estimate of 1920, which, with a curious inconsistency, or through a misunderstanding, has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State. For, if the estimate of 1912 was underestimated in cost of construction, the estimate of 1920 is still more seriously underestimated.

For example, many of the rates for masonry and other items in the barrage estimate are taken at 20 per cent. above pre-war rates. This small increase, which is quite insufficient, is based on the assumption that, as the work will be so large, "it ought to be possible to attain considerably lower rates for works than would be possible for small local works" (see Appendix VI.).

Then, in the case of the Right Bank Canals, the estimate prepared in 1909 was 446 lakhs for a designed discharge of 15,098 cusecs, which is at the rate of Rs. 2,950 per cusec, while in the 1920 estimate the combined discharge for the three Right Bank Canals is 19,446 cusecs, which comes to Rs. 3,180 per cusec of discharge. The increase over the pre-war rates per cusec is only 8 per cent., which is quite inadequate.

On the revenue side the forecasts for the 1912 Project were prepared by Mr. W. H. Lucas, Commissioner in Sind, with great caution, while the revenue forecasts for the 1920 Project are altogether visionary.

Cultivators are conservative all the world over; nowhere are they more so than in Sind, and the 1920 Project contemplates changes which, though they may ultimately come to pass in the dim future, will not be accepted by the Sind farmers. They are wedded to their hot-weather crops, and the project assumes a great expansion of cold-weather cultivation.

Rates for the use of water, especially for rice, have been proposed which are greatly in excess of existing rates, and which, if applied, would probably tend to discourage the development of irrigation (see Appendix VII.).

The cost of the work has been estimated at £18,430,000. Adding to this the accumulation of interest to ten years after completion, which is £3,570,000, the "capital invested" becomes £22,000,000. As the net revenue ten years after completion is estimated at £1,226,000, the return on the capital invested is 5.57 per cent. As money cannot now be borrowed at 5½ per cent., that fact alone makes the project

unproductive. With the other drawbacks I have pointed out it is justifiable to say that the 1920 scheme, to begin with the barrage as a remunerative work, *must* fail.

An important item which I have not referred to is the annual cost of running the canals, which is called the "working expenses." In the 1910 estimate I allowed Rs. 1.2 per acre, and in the 1920 estimate the same rate of Rs. 1.2 per acre has been allowed. This, however, could not be worked to now nor in the future. For example, the working expenses on the Jamrao have averaged Rs. 1.6 for the last ten years. To show the importance of this item, if the rate is increased to Rs. 1.5, the net revenue on the three and a half million acres to be irrigated ten years after completion would be decreased by ten lakhs.

MISUNDERSTANDING AS TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S ORDERS

An unfortunate misunderstanding has occurred in connection with the 1920 Project. Mr. F. St. J. Gebbie, under whose orders as Chief Engineer, Bombay, it was drawn up, states that this project has simply been prepared in accordance with the orders of the Secretary of State and his Barrage Committee. This, I may say, is a most regrettable error, which has already led to a delay of about six years, and if not enquired into and corrected immediately will inevitably lead to disastrous consequences to the Province.

As the clearing up of this misunderstanding is of vital importance to Sind, as well as to the tax-payer, I give below a few brief notes on points in the project which are not in agreement with the Secretary of State's orders.

Barrage Site (see Appendix X.):

(i.) The Barrage Committee only suggested the investigation of a site "a few miles" below the outfall gauge, while that adopted is only 6,000 feet below this point, and may be held to be in the vicinity of the outfall gauge, which they expressly disapproved of.

In passing through the gorge the water will churn up all

bed sand down to rock, and it cannot be accepted that this water will be as suitable for passing into canals as if it had not been passed through the gorge.

(ii.) The selected site has not been fixed by the Secretary of State's Committee, but is a site apparently selected by the Chief Engineer, Bombay, through a misunderstanding, and which does not appear to meet essential conditions as regards only taking in top water comparatively free from silt.

(iii.) If the barrage is built on the new site below the gorge very costly training works will be required above the gorge, in addition to the training works needed both above and below the barrage, to ensure the river being forced to keep to its present channel (see Appendix IV.).

PROGRAMME OF CONSTRUCTION OF CANALS

(iv.) As already stated, the Committee recommended that the barrage and Rohri Canal should be *completed* simultaneously, but in the 1920 Project they are to be *begun* simultaneously, and the barrage is to be completed five years before the Right Bank Canals, and six years before the Rohri Canal and Nara River works. This seemingly slight difference in the order of construction is of the most vital importance to the project. If the barrage is built first, as proposed in the 1920 Project, on account of the great accumulation of interest charges, without any large revenue to reduce them, the project cannot be a productive work.

On the other hand, if the Rohri Canal, or part of it, is constructed first, it will immediately begin to earn revenue by changing large areas of lift into flow, and from new cultivation, which will greatly reduce the accumulation of interest charges while the barrage is being built.

There are other points in which the 1920 Project does not agree with the advice of the Secretary of State's Committee as shown in Appendix X.

ALTERNATIVE PROJECTS

There are two alternative projects, however, which seem certain to be successful :

(a) The Rohri Canal, followed by the barrage and later on by the Right Bank Canals, as suggested by the Secretary of State's Sukkur Barrage Committee of 1913 (see Appendix VIII.).

(b) The Rohri Canal alone to begin with, as proposed, in the event of the scheme with the barrage being too costly (see Appendix IX.).

(a) This project has been advocated by nearly all experts, as shown in Appendix VIII.

In Appendix XII. it is shown that by postponing the barrage for four years and beginning with the Rohri Canal, the saving will be over 200 lakhs (£2,000,000). Based on the 1920 Revenue Report forecasts, this project will be productive with interest at $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while the barrage first project, at the same rate of interest, would only give a return of 4·9 per cent.

(b) THE ROHRI CANAL ALONE TO BEGIN WITH

The other safe alternative suggested by the Bombay Government in 1906 and again in 1909, in the event of the scheme with the barrage in it proving too costly, is to consider the Rohri Canal by itself. This could not fail to be a remunerative work (see Appendices IX. and XII.).

Both the projects of 1912 and 1920 provide for a barrage to be completed five years before the canals. This means a vast accumulation of interest debt, which deficit it is essential to avoid. The Rohri Canal, if carried out by itself, as suggested in (b), for the irrigation on the left bank of the Indus, should have its off-take above the Sukkur gorge, which is a natural weir.

With this off-take ample supplies of water could be assured at a trifling cost by lowering the canal bed for a few miles at its head, and the barrage could be built when it was found to be required.

The lowering of the bed by increasing the difference in level between the top of the barrage gates and the full supply level in the canal would prevent the canal's discharge being reduced on account of the usual deposit of silt at canal heads, which occurs both without and with a barrage.

If it is proposed to utilize the fall from the river into the canal for the production of water-power, the deepening could be made sufficient for this purpose.

This point should be carefully considered before beginning work at the canal head, as deepening could not be carried out afterwards unless at great loss to Government and to the Zamindars—in fact, it would be almost impracticable (see Appendix IV., par. 22).

The barrage being constructed at a subsequent date, while the canal was earning revenue, would not be a serious financial error, and the right bank irrigation could subsequently be linked up with a harnessed Indus.

I have no hesitation in stating, as my firm conviction, that only in this way, by commencing with the Rohri Canal, is it possible to frame a remunerative scheme.

COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

My views are therefore wholly at variance with the 1920 Project, which has been prepared by the engineers in India under a misunderstanding as to the Sukkur Barrage Committee's recommendations, and I contend that, when the Secretary of State considered it necessary to appoint a Committee to examine the scheme of 1912, it is *a fortiori* necessary that the much more expensive and more dangerous project of 1920 should receive expert investigation. I claim that the 1920 Project has been very seriously underestimated in cost, that it has been just as seriously overestimated in revenue receipts; that the works as designed and the programme of execution constitute a menace and might easily lead to a catastrophe. I consequently plead the urgent need for investigating, by a competent committee of experts, before it is commenced,

an immense project which might prove to be a huge financial failure and even worse.

Taking everything into consideration—in my opinion—the annual loss to Government, which will have to be made good by the tax-payer, cannot possibly, under the most favourable circumstances, be less than £250,000 per annum, and will probably be more than £500,000 (see Appendix XII.) for an indefinite time.

DISCONTENT AMONGST CULTIVATORS

I have just received a letter from the Chief Engineer in Sind, in which he discusses the measures lately put in force to curtail the quantity of water used for rice in the Right Bank Canal Tract. He shows the grave danger of trying to make any sudden changes, and states that on account of these measures “complaints from all parts of the Province are frequent and bitter,” and that “something will have to be done to allay the present discontent.”

If the barrage and Right Bank Canals are postponed for only a few years till the Rohri Canal is earning, say, 8 or 10 per cent., these rice assessments could be much reduced, and so made practicable.

It may be that these high rates were based on the assumption that the recent high prices of rice would be kept up. If so they should be revised, as prices of foods have been falling fast in India. For example, the price of all food articles in Bombay which, in September, 1920, averaged 90 per cent. above the price in July, 1914, had fallen to 53 per cent. by April, 1921.

I am certain that if an attempt is made to curtail the present rice areas in the northern and southern areas of the Right Bank Tract, to make the canals workable, as proposed in this 1920 Project, and to increase the assessments on rice by anything approaching the great increases of 80 to 120 per cent. proposed, this discontent will be much aggravated, and might lead to very serious consequences in a province which has hitherto been loyal and peaceful (see Appendix VII.).

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, July 25, 1921, at which a paper was read by Dr. T. Summers, C.I.E., entitled "The Sukkur Barrage Project and Empire Cotton." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., occupied the chair. The following members, amongst others, were present: H.H. The Maharao of Cutch, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir H. Evan James, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir George Buchanan, K.C.I.E., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, O.B.E., and Mrs. Dunn, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., the Rev. Dr. R. H. Durham, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Summers, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Lieut.-Colonel J. K. Robertson, Mrs. Peebles, Mr. A. L. Emaouel, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Miss Milner, Mr. H. M. Jagtiani, Miss Nina Corner, Professor and Mrs. Bickerton, Miss Webster, Mr. R. H. Balfour Blair, Mr. Headley V. Storey, Miss Sykes, Miss M. Sorahji, Mrs. White, Mr. P. Ibotson Unwin, Mr. A. Rai, Lieut.-Colonel S. H. Roberts, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mrs. Victor Fisher, Mr. Sidney Preston, C.I.E., Mr. J. S. Beresford, C.I.E., and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Your Highness, ladies and gentlemen, I will commence the proceedings by reading two letters; first of all, one from Lord Sydenham:

July 23, 1921.

DEAR DR. SUMMERS,

I am very sorry I cannot come on Monday. I retain the views which you know, and I was disturbed at the proposal of a barrage below the gorge. It would, I believe, entail a very large sum for training, and even then there would be constant trouble. It is a case in which it is wisest to follow Nature.

My strong view is that the Rohri Canal should be begun at once. (It ought to have been begun long ago.) Then let the site of the barrage be further investigated. Has there not been an idea that the Indus might some day leave the gorge and find a channel west of Sukkur? It seems to me that, if this possibility exists now, the danger would be much greater by putting the barrage either above, or especially below, the gorge.

I am afraid I have not time to write more.—With kind remembrances, I am, yours sincerely,

SYDENHAM.

Then there is another letter, from Sir Walter Hughes, who writes:

July 25, 1921.

MY DEAR SUMMERS,

I very much regret that my engagements will not allow of my being present to hear your paper read this afternoon.

My long connection with the project for the Rohri Canal, and my intimate association with General Fife, its originator, were referred to on the last occasion on which the matter came before the East India Association.

It is with a grave sense of the seriousness of the issues involved that I very strongly support your contention that what you refer to as the "1920 Project" should not be adopted until it has been submitted to and

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approved by a committee of independent experts, who should be most carefully selected for their practical experience in such questions. Off-hand, I think the Chairman and Chief Engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission, or an officer nominated by him, an engineer with experience in training works on the Mississippi, an experienced officer of the French Ponts et Chaussées, and an English engineer would be a suitable combination.

(Signed) WALTER S. HUGHES.

I will now ask Dr. Summers to read his paper on this very important work in connection with the irrigation of Sind. I will not say anything about the project at this stage. I will only say that you are aware that Dr. Summers' opinion must be well worth considering. I think for upwards of thirty-five years he served the Public Works Department in the Bombay Presidency, and for a great proportion of that time he was Engineer-in-Chief at Sind. He always had his heart thoroughly in his work. It was then that I had the privilege of knowing what a very ardent and energetic official he was, therefore his views must carry weight. I am afraid it is, perhaps, rather late in the day now, but if it is the consensus of opinion of this meeting that his views are worthy of further consideration, I do hope that it is not too late, and that the India Office may still consider whether or not it is desirable to revise their opinion before proceeding with the very great and expensive work of erecting this Sukkur Barrage. The danger of it has been alluded to by Lord Sydenham in his letter. I will not now stand between you and the paper which we are going to hear read by Dr. Summers.

The LECTURER read the paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Your Highness, ladies and gentlemen, I think you will agree with me that we have listened to a very instructive paper on a theme upon which Dr. Summers is well qualified to advise us. I confess that my feeling is that his case is unanswerable. I am not an expert myself, although when Governor of Bombay I had the projects of further irrigation of Sind before me, but at the same time all the facts which he has brought to our notice seem to me almost unanswerable. I hope there will be some gentlemen here who will be able to criticize his figures, as surely the Government must have some reason or argument on their side. If they have no solid reasons to offer, then it seems to me that the Government must be made to reconsider a scheme which is extraordinarily costly, perhaps dangerous to the whole working of the system of the River Indus. As I understand from what Dr. Summers says, the Rohri Canal Project would come almost at once into operation and be productive, whereas the Government scheme would take ages before it could be in working order. That is, however, quite a minor point in comparison with what he sets forth as being the enormous expense, and also, as I say, that it might be destructive of the present river system of the Indus. I hope that there are some gentlemen here who will give us the benefit of their advice, and possibly of their criticism on this matter.

There is one gentleman here, Sir Lionel Jacob, who is well qualified to address a gathering like this. He was, I think, a member of the Committee of 1913, and therefore I am sure that his views will be listened to

with great pleasure by this meeting. I therefore now ask Sir Lionel Jacob to address the meeting.

Sir LIONEL JACOB said that in making a few remarks on Dr. Summers' excellent lecture, he would not enter into ancient history, although the subject had occupied the attention of administrators and engineers for a great many years. He would just briefly refer to three projects which were, after all, the outstanding features of the whole question. The first of those projects, the project of 1910, was prepared by Dr. Summers himself. He had framed an estimate for the construction of a great canal, called the Rohri Canal, which was designed to take off from the Indus at the Sukkur gorge, and to irrigate a very large tract of country on the left bank of the river. This scheme did provide for the construction of a barrage, though it had generally been held that Dr. Summers was an opponent of the barrage idea. But that was a mistake on the part of the public. All that Dr. Summers said was that he believed that the Rohri Canal, as designed by him, could obtain its supplies from the Indus at the gorge, and it would be time enough to build the barrage at a later stage, if and when it was required. Dr. Summers even went as far as to say that he had no objection to the barrage forming a definite item of the scheme, only it should be completed to synchronize with the completion of the canal in order that it might be built just at the time when the project was arriving at a full development. But just about that time there arose a great outcry that the Punjab was going to ruin Sind. The Punjab is a province of India which lies to the north of Sind, and the canals of the Punjab, which are numerous and important, derive their supplies both from the Indus and its tributaries. It was therefore not unnatural for people to suppose that the withdrawals of water from the Indus and its tributaries in the Punjab would have the effect of reducing the supplies at Sukkur. An exhaustive examination of the statistics has, however, shown that in spite of the Punjab withdrawing more and more water from the Indus basin, there has been no adverse effect whatever, either on the volume of water in the Indus at Sukkur or upon its level. Still the outcry continued; it was thought Sind would be ruined, and that was how the next project—a barrage project—came to be conceived. It was the project which Dr. Summers had referred to as the scheme of 1912. It provided for a barrage in the position that had been pointed out, and the barrage was to be started simultaneously with the canal in order that there might be no doubt that the canals in Sind would obtain water. But, all the same, the early commencement of the barrage was based on a mistaken idea, and the very fact that the project was framed on these lines made it unproductive. The Committee of Experts appointed by the Secretary of State to examine the scheme unanimously held that the project would not be remunerative, and it was rejected mainly for that reason. The Committee made some further suggestions, but that may be said to have been the chief reason why the project was not sanctioned. When the experts' opinion was communicated to the Government of India, it remained for the Bombay engineers to arrive at some revisions of the

former scheme, and they prepared the project which Dr. Summers had called the project of 1920. The speaker had not had the privilege of seeing the 1920 papers, but he had heard a great deal about them from Dr. Summers, and while the experts found that the project of 1912 was underestimated in cost, he was perfectly certain that the project of 1920 had been much more seriously underestimated; and in the matter of revenue, while the Committee of 1913 found that the Chief Commissioner of Sind had based his revenue forecast on very safe and cautious figures, the revenue receipts as anticipated by the 1920 Project could only be described—as Dr. Summers had described them—as visionary. He did not think that they would ever be fulfilled, and it seemed quite certain that the project would be, as had been said by Dr. Summers, a gigantic financial failure. He did not, however, wish it to be thought that he put money before every other consideration. If the position were that, in order to exploit the potentialities of Sind, an immense irrigation work is necessary, and that in no circumstances could the cost of that work be productive, he himself would be quite prepared to agree to an unremunerative project for the sake of the future of Sind. But even so, there was no reason to waste money, and the 1920 Project would lead to an incredible amount of waste. He was certain that the necessary work could be done more cheaply and more efficiently. Then, in addition, there was the danger which Dr. Summers had pointed out of an Indus avulsion. If the barrage was built at the site chosen in the 1920 Project, and in the way it had been designed to be built, the speaker thought that it was not only conceivable, but even probable, that the Indus would break away to the west of Sukkur and lead to a disaster which would be so calamitous as to be almost unthinkable. It would cut off many canals from the sources of their supplies, and one had to remember that in Sind the great bulk of the population were dependent upon canal cultivation. It would also very seriously damage the railway system and disorganize traffic. The speaker therefore wished to cordially support Dr. Summers in his views that it was highly essential that the Secretary of State should appoint a committee of the best experts he could obtain to exhaustively examine the project before he allowed it to be commenced.

Sir EVAN JAMES said that it was very curious that twenty years after he had left India he found that a project in which he was very much interested when he was there was still only a project. He did not wish to take up time by inflicting a layman's views upon the audience because he thoroughly agreed with what Sir Lionel Jacob had said. If they could have, and he knew they could have, a thoroughly well paying new canal, it would be the Rohri Canal that Colonel Fife was so keen upon, and it was no good making a barrage which possibly might interfere with that. Those who knew Sukkur must know how peculiarly dangerous it would be to make a barrage which would risk the sweeping away of the town of Sukkur as had happened to other towns before. If the Rohri Canal could be constructed and a thorough reinvestigation made as to whether a barrage should also be carried out, then a very great benefit would be con-

ferred on Sind and the whole of India. He was of opinion that they must "gang warily." It would be a most terrible mistake to make a barrage and send the whole of the water of the Indus round Sukkur. He remembered one of the chairman's predecessors as Governor of Bombay standing on a high point and looking at Sukkur and the river, and saying: "You do not tell me that you are going to risk getting the whole of the waters of the Indus round the gorge behind Sukkur. It would be a most frightful calamity!" Anybody who had ever gone up the Indus during the inundations, and seen the river eating into its banks half a mile or a mile at a time, would know that the danger was not problematical. If once the river began to eat, as it was termed, in a few days it would have eaten through the bank above the town of Sukkur, and run round and left the gorge and the great bridge as monuments to posterity. The speaker also cordially agreed with what Sir Lionel Jacob had said as to the propriety of making the Rohri Canal first. It had been designed by Colonel Fife, and if that canal could be made without a barrage there was no reason why it should not be; and afterwards if water was wanted on the right bank there could be a barrage; the cultivation on the right bank was already the very best in Sind. The speaker had always hoped that it would be possible, but he had not gone into the subject, to have a barrage that would bring in a quantity of water on a high level, not only along the left bank which Dr. Summers loved so well, but also along the right bank to improve and extend still further the rice cultivation. He hoped that a direct representation would be made by the Chairman and others to the Secretary of State for India not to be in a hurry, but to commence with the Left Bank Canal, and when that had been made—and apparently there was already plenty of water for it—then the most scientific men could consider whether the barrage was possible and would be advantageous. If it was possible to have a perennial supply of water on the right bank and also on the left it would be magnificent, but it was no use incurring risk to get it.

Mr. G. OWEN W. DUNN, O.B.E.: When Dr. Summers read his paper in 1914 on "The Development of Cotton Cultivation in India," advocating the very early commencement of the Rohri Canal, I remember remarking on his dogged persistence, and expressed the belief that he would resolutely refuse to "shuffle off this mortal coil" until he had seen that work commenced. Dr. Summers is gifted with more than the usual tenacity of his race, and this great project has absorbed his entire energies for many years. He lives for it, his whole existence is permeated with it, and the very house he lives in he has named "Rohrimede." Such consistent and persistent devotion to a cause must command our warm admiration, and this paper is evidence of the immense energy and the painstaking research, as well as the high technical knowledge, he has lavished on his case. It may be said that the Institute of Civil Engineers would be a more suitable body than this before which to read so technical a paper, and I hope that the Council of that Institution will be furnished with copies. The subject, however, is one which is vital to the interests of

the province of Sind and of the great mass of its agricultural population, while, as regards the possibilities of extensive cotton cultivation, it has Imperial importance, so that this venue is not unsuitable, and I think this Association is to be congratulated on the opportunity afforded it by this paper to discuss the highly important point which is its main topic—viz., the order in which the different sections of this vast project should be undertaken.

I may say at once that in my opinion Dr. Summers is right, though I confess that I am not fully conversant with all the arguments on the other side. I served, however, as Superintending Engineer of the Indus Left Bank Division for four and a half years when the Jamrao Canal was being constructed and brought into operation, and I thus know something of the Indus, of the area commanded by the proposed Rohri Canal, and of the agricultural population. I have traversed the Indus from the extreme north of Sind to its mouth, and the gorge at Sukkur-Bukkur-Rohri I have at least seen more than once. I am therefore able to follow Dr. Summers' arguments and figures, and on these I say he is undoubtedly right in urging that before the barrage is commenced the Rohri Canal should be undertaken and brought to the revenue-producing stage in at least its upper reaches. I will not attempt to go into all Dr. Summers' arguments, and if it be said that figures can be made to prove anything I retort that this applies with at least equal force to the other side! An estimate is after all only an estimate, and we have here estimates, both of prime cost and of revenue, upon the approximate accuracy of both of which the financial success of the project depends. There is also an estimate of annual progress on works any serious departure from which must materially affect the charges for interest during construction. Now I am in agreement with Dr. Summers that an increase of 20 per cent. over pre-war rates for construction is quite inadequate. I am in agreement with him that an annual expenditure of two crores of rupees on works is impossible. I am further in agreement with him that to attempt to increase the rates of assessment to the extent proposed and to reduce the area under rice would result in very serious trouble indeed. We have heard much in recent years of the psychology of peoples: the Sindhi zamindar has his peculiar psychology, and to assume that you can afford to disregard this is merely asking for trouble. He is wasteful of water, and he likes to see his canal running full whether he wants to use it or not. He is intensely conservative, and he must be treated gently and he gradually—very gradually—educated into more scientific and less wasteful methods of irrigation. He is inflammable material, and is quick to take alarm at the first hint of interference with his water supply. The revenue estimates must give full consideration to these points.

It is freely acknowledged by Dr. Summers that the barrage will be eventually required. It is merely, with him, whether it should be commenced simultaneously with the Rohri Canal, or whether the latter should be first undertaken and its first one or two sections be brought into operation and made revenue-producing before the barrage is begun. The

hoge of insufficient supply in the river because of the large draw-off in the Punjab is effectually killed by an examination of the river gauge readings and discharges, and there is no reason that I can see why the canal should not be begun first, while it is evident that the net charges on the whole scheme must be reduced if a portion of it can be made remunerative before the years of unremunerative expenditure with its attendant interest charges while the barrage is being built are faced. This would, moreover, give time for a further consideration of the site for the barrage. To me the selection of a site *below* the gorge appears grotesque. Possibly there is something in it that I fail to understand, but, if the water level at the head of the canals taking off above the barrage is to be maintained, it must involve a higher, and probably more costly, structure; it must mean enormous additional training works (which are in any case an element of danger), and it must cause a rise in the subsoil water-level below the gorge the effect of which cannot be foreseen. The matter is so serious that it should, in my opinion, be re-examined by a committee of fresh expert minds, unprejudiced by any former connection with the project.

I sincerely hope that some member present will take the opposite view, for Dr. Summers, I know, will welcome the opportunity to bombard him with facts, figures, extracts, and experiences, and I express my sympathy with that member in advance.

I apologize for the length of my remarks, and congratulate Dr. Summers on his monumental work, which I trust may receive from the authorities the serious consideration it deserves. I think that the Association might well send a copy of the paper with this afternoon's discussion on it to the Secretary of State for India, with the expression of their anxiety for a very careful review of the whole matter as being one of first-rate importance both to Sind and to the Empire.

The CHAIRMAN: I hope, as Mr. Dunn has said, there is someone prepared to criticize this paper, because it seems to me to be inconceivable that there are not some arguments to justify the proposed action of the Secretary of State.

Professor BICKERTON said that when he noticed the title of the lecture he thought he would like to say a word or two upon it. He was at a meeting of the British Science Guild, and could not help feeling that one of the things to be done was to submit the matter to that Guild for their opinion and any advice they could possibly give on this subject. Irrigation was a great feature, but it was now recognized clearly that all water projects had to be considered, as Dr. Summers had so ably put it, also from the electrical side, from the point of view of the canals and the rivers dammed with their barrages being used for traffic purposes. Also we had to consider the tremendous danger that there is in connection with the changes of rivers. Only this week there had been notices of the great holes that had been wrought in the Thames by scouring action. It was a noteworthy thing that eighteen centuries B.C. the first great revolution in China was due to bad engineering deflecting two rivers from their beds, so that they lost their former courses and never went back to them again.

He thought, therefore, from the political standpoint the subject was one that required very great care. In New Zealand, where he had been a Professor for thirty years, a lake had been tapped, and in that particular case there was no barrage required. In the city where he lived for so many years electricity could now be produced at something like a half-penny per unit, which showed the tremendous importance of adapting a work properly for electrical as well as other purposes. He earnestly urged that Dr. Summers' sound advice should be taken, and no money expended till the subject had been thoroughly investigated in all its aspects.

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE said that it was a unique experience for him to be present at a meeting of the East India Association, and to find a project which had obtained the sanction of the Secretary of State so universally and unanimously condemned as the project they had before them that day. He took a great interest in Sind, having joined the 1st Baluchis at Haidarabad, Sind, more than fifty years ago, and having ended his service in Baluchistan. He thoroughly realized what had been said by Mr. Dunn and others of the great danger of enhancing the revenue assessment of the Sind cultivator to the extent proposed. He could not speak from an engineering point of view, but he hoped that what had been suggested, that the Secretary of State should be approached on the matter, would be agreed to by the Association, with a request that a careful investigation should be made into the problem before the Secretary of State took any further steps in the matter.

Miss SCATCHERD asked whether it would not be possible for someone to speak who supported the Government scheme, because she agreed with the Chairman that it was inconceivable that there was not some reasonable justification for such an enormous project, and that, if necessary, they should have a further discussion at a future session on the subject, because it seemed a most important matter.

Mr. STANLEY RICE said that he would like to know whether Dr. Summers could supply any arguments on the other side; he must know them, even if he could confute them, and the meeting would like to know what they were.

Dr. SUMMERS: One reason is that "in the unfavourable conditions of a low river, combined with a scanty flow from the catchment area, the withdrawals (Punjab) might have an appreciable effect in lowering the water level at Sukkur at the beginning and end of the inundation season, which are the critical periods for inundation canals." For this reason, "though the dangers of further withdrawals in the Punjab have been very much exaggerated, there is still good reason to say that Sind ought to be protected by the construction of a barrage from the chance of such misfortune as that just indicated." This reason is replied to on page 18 of Appendix I.

Another reason is the fear that the withdrawal of about 10,000 cusecs by the Rohri Canal will seriously affect the supply in the Right Bank Inundation Canals below Sukkur till the barrage is ready. Appendix XIII. shows that there are no grounds for this fear.

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A third reason is that the 1920 Project has been prepared according to the recommendations of the Secretary of State's Barrage Committee of 1913. This is a misunderstanding which is fully explained in Appendix X.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, may I say on your behalf that we are very pleased to have present His Highness the Maharao of Cutch. I am sure all who are present have appreciated the lecture, although there might have been a little adverse criticism, because the only one has been supplied by the writer of the paper himself. I may say that I did write to Lord Lytton, the Under-Secretary of State, some time ago in connection with this proposal, and I received a reply from him to this effect:

JUNE 18, 1921.

DEAR LAMINGTON,

A revised Sukkur Barrage Project was recently received from India, and has been considered by the Secretary of State in Council, who has decided to accept the recommendations of the Government of India, subject to its being shown that the project can be financed to completion without undue difficulty.

I understand that the arguments of Dr. Summers, who has also been in frequent communication with this office, were considered by the Government of India before they made their recommendations.

The Secretary of State in Council has not failed to pay due attention to the representations of Dr. Summers, but the weight of the expert opinion at his disposal is against Dr. Summers' views, and he cannot therefore accept them. I am convinced that all aspects of this project have now been fully considered by all the authorities concerned, and that a further inquiry on the lines you suggest could serve no useful purpose at this stage.

I return the enclosures to your letter.—Yours sincerely,

(Signed) LYTTON.

That is rather a final letter, but I think, perhaps, we might see whether we cannot make further representations; but it is not the habit of this Association to pass any resolutions.

We are very grateful, and I should like to express the thanks of the meeting to Dr. Summers for the very careful collaboration and preparation of this complex question, which must have necessitated an enormous amount of toil. He has no personal axe of his own to grind, but simply does it as a lover of India, and particularly with regard to the wish to develop Sind on the best lines. I think that the thanks not only of this meeting, but of all those who have at heart the interests of India and the development of that wonderful territory should be given to Dr. Summers, not only for coming here this afternoon to read the paper, but for his careful preparation of the whole subject.

Mr. STANLEY RICE said that Dr. Summers ought to have an opportunity of replying to criticism, but as there had been none to reply to it was not necessary to call upon him. He would propose a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Lamington for presiding, which he was sure all would endorse, and at the same time, as this was the last meeting of the particular session, he would like to wish everybody present a pleasant holiday.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you. That concludes the business of the afternoon.

Mr. W. L. Strange, M.I.C.E., late Chief Engineer in Sind, writes : "This excellent paper is Dr. Summers' crowning effort to present facts for decision in connection with the immense irrigation scheme to which he has devoted many years of study, and his unique experience of irrigation conditions in Sind. It is sure to be appreciated by those interested in the development of the Province and of the Empire, and should be welcomed by those with whom lies the great responsibility of coming early to a wise and final settlement of the many problems involved, which have engaged the attention of many experts during the last seventy years. The first matter which he has established from official gaugings is that the discharge of the Indus at Sukkur has not, as was originally anticipated, been materially affected by the increased draw-off by the Upper Punjab Canals, as these return to the river by seepage a considerable portion of the water they pour on to the area irrigated by them. This being the case, Dr. Summers holds that the barrage is not wanted at the start of the construction of the canal systems, and that its execution should be deferred until it becomes necessary by the expansion of irrigation. If the barrage is built before it is thus required, there will not be any revenue from it as a set-off to the heavy charges for its maintenance and for interest on the sum expended on it, and, therefore, the whole scheme will fail to produce the return which would justify its being undertaken as a productive work. These opinions are eminently sound, for it should be a financial axiom that, when a large scheme can be carried out in progressive stages, it should not be commenced of full size. The latter procedure will result at first in comparatively small gross revenue when irrigation is being started, and the net revenue will be out of proportion smaller, owing to maintenance charges being increased by the size of the project.

"It seems out of the question to contemplate the starting of construction in these abnormal times, when labour, materials, and English stores are all inflated in cost, and when the rate of exchange is low and the charge for interest is very high. All prices, it is hoped, will fall shortly, and their drop should be awaited, or the scheme will be carried out at such increased expenditure that a proper return on it will not be possible from the future irrigation assessments, which themselves must be greatly reduced below the rates taken into account in the 1920 Project revenue estimate. It is for this reason that the execution of several large schemes in England, Egypt, and the Soudan is being suspended till more favourable times.

"This delay will, moreover, be advantageous, as it will enable the 1920 Project to be examined by a committee, and such examination appears all the more necessary as that Project has not, in respect to the location of the barrage, carried out the recommendations of the 1913 Committee. The proposed committee should be independent, expert, and impartial, and might therefore consist of a few retired officials—revenue and engineering—with recent local experience, but not immediately connected with the submitted Projects, and of an American or Egyptian engineer, or both, conversant with the technical problems which have to be solved."

Mr. W. L. Cameron, C.S.I., late Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and a member of the 1913 Sukkur Barrage Committee, writes :

1. The Rohri Canal, the construction of which Dr. Summers has so long and so strenuously advocated, is designed to irrigate a tract of country, part of which now obtains a precarious supply from inundation canals. A considerable area of the land so served lies high, and irrigation is possible only by lift. All this and other land, which cannot at present be irrigated at all, will receive a perennial supply *by flow* from the proposed canal.

2. A canal of this kind has been proposed twice before, and in neither case did a barrage at Sukkur form part of the scheme. Dr. Summers is aware that to render the irrigation really safe at all times and for the whole length of the canal a barrage is necessary, but what he urges is that part of the canal should be opened for irrigation before work is undertaken on the barrage, and he bases his proposal on grounds that appear eminently sound.

3. In the first place it is necessary to begin earning revenue at the earliest possible moment, so as to avoid the accumulation of charges for interest during construction, which might otherwise be so heavy as to destroy all chance of the work being productive.

4. According to my recollection of the drawings in Dr. Summers' project and data of the river, the first two sections of the canal might safely be opened independently of the barrage. By this means not only would the scheme become revenue-producing at an early date, but by using the water power of the Falls, energy would be rendered available electrically at the barrage, both during construction and after completion, to work the gates.

5. Dr. Summers lays stress, and I think advisedly, on not allowing the energy at the Falls to be dissipated in pounding the brick pavements. As he points out, paying crops cannot be grown without the assistance of fertilizers when nearly all the culturable land under command is to be cultivated every year. The fixation of nitrogen from the air has now become an important business in Germany, and I agree unreservedly with Dr. Summers that every endeavour should be made to encourage the establishment of an industry of the kind in Sind. If turbines are provided by Government, I believe that private enterprise would do the rest.

6. Dr. Summers is emphatic that the site for the barrage has been badly selected, and he states that the site below the gorge has been chosen under the mistaken impression that the Committee of 1913 recommended it. He asserts, quite correctly, *that it did nothing of the kind*. There were serious objections to the upper site, and what the Committee did was to recommend that, if this had not already been done, some site below the influence of the gorge should be investigated. I have not seen any of the papers connected with the 1920 Project, but I cannot believe that the experienced Indian engineers can have read this suggestion as being a definite recommendation that the barrage should be constructed below the gorge. They must know that a responsible Committee would not so stultify itself as to make a definite recommendation on a matter on which

the members had nothing to guide them. To suggest investigation is one thing, to make a definite recommendation is another. Neither site can be free from certain objectionable features, and the presumption must be that the Indian engineers have come to the conclusion that the balance of advantages over defects in the lower site is greater than in the upper.

7. One objection raised to the lower site is that for it extensive river training works will be necessary above the gorge. But from the head of the gorge to the site that appears to have been selected—a distance apparently of rather more than three miles—the river is stable and fairly straight, the Sukkur and Rohri shores form efficient guides, and a weir could be constructed with the axes of the piers approximately parallel to the direction of the stream. I use the word “approximately,” for in the Pass, when the river is in flood, is observable the phenomenon termed “breathing.” At regular intervals the water is piled up, at one time on the Rohri shore and then on the Sukkur shore, and during the periods of transition local currents may be produced which would impinge obliquely on the piers, first on one side and then on the other. With long guide banks the intensity of the “breathing” might be reduced, but I do not think it would ever be stopped altogether. I have observed the same phenomenon on a small scale in large canals.

8. For the upper site training works would certainly be necessary, and I am not sure that the formidable nature of the task of forming artificial training banks, even three or four miles long, is appreciated. It would not be a mere question of conserving the river, but it might, and probably would, be one of diverting the bed, so that the water might flow in the channel desired.

9. Some years ago an attempt was made to save the town of Dera Ghazi Khan, which was threatened by the encroachment of the Indus, and failed. The river demolished the protective works as they were erected, and proceeded to cut away and swallow up the town. It was stated that the work would have been successful if orders to commence it had been issued earlier, and that the six weeks' delay that occurred was fatal. That need not be discussed now, but I believe that the task of stopping encroachment by the river would be child's play compared with that of forcing the river to cut for itself and to flow along a certain defined and fairly straight channel some miles in length. I do not for a moment mean to say that this would be beyond the capacity of the engineers in India, *provided that money was no object*. Any attempt to do the work cheaply would be foredoomed to failure.

10. Another objection raised is that a barrage on the lower site might cause the river to cut a new channel for itself behind Sukkur, or to flow down the Nara River, which at one time may have been the course of the Indus, or more probably of the Sutlej. But the sill of the weir will probably be at the level of the sandy bed, and as the gates would be raised clear of the water the only obstruction, when the river is in flood, would be the piers. They would cause some afflux, but I do not believe that its effect would be felt on the Sukkur Begari bund.

11. With regard to the possible danger of the gorge silting up, it is

sufficient to say that when the river is in flood the velocity through the gorge is some 13 feet per second. Such a velocity would rapidly remove any silt that might have been deposited when the river was low and the flow stopped by the closing of the gates.

12. With regard to the remarks made by Dr. Summers on the apparently low rates provided in the estimate for work, the high rates *per contra* of land revenue in the forecast of revenue, and the ill-effects that might be produced by trying to force a conservative population to alter too rapidly their methods of cultivation, I have only to say that I agree entirely with him.

13. It remains but to congratulate Dr. Summers on the part of the project which is his child—the Rohri-Hyderabad Canal. It is no exaggeration to say that for nearly a generation past the canal has been his "morning thought, his midnight dream, his hope throughout the day," and though at one time he was faced with some opposition he has triumphed by reason of dogged persistence and clear and sound arguments. Every detail is witness to his wide experience and to the close study he has made of irrigation matters generally.

14. That the canal will prove a complete success I have not the slightest doubt, and I believe that not only will it be a boon to the Hyderabad district and stimulate Sind trade, but it will in itself more than fulfil the requirements of a "productive public work" according to the code definition. May Dr. Summers have the pleasure of seeing it opened!

Mr. Summers' Remarks on Mr. Cameron's Note

Mr. Cameron's opinion is valuable, as he had a good many years' experience of Sind, both in the early years of his service and as Superintending Engineer. He was also a member of the Sukkur Barrage Committee.

Par. 3.—Like the great majority of engineers who know Sind, Mr. Cameron has consistently advocated the construction of a part, at any rate, of the Rohri Canal before the barrage (p. 61). This programme, largely owing to the increase in the estimate of the barrage, is now the only hope of a remunerative work. (See p. 62, par. 32.)

Par. 4 and 5.—Mr. Cameron is of opinion that the Rohri Canal should be designed to make use of the potential energy in the 40 feet of falls which have to be provided in the first 120 miles of the canal, owing to the comparatively steep fall of the ground. This power may be used for the production of fertilizers from the fixation of nitrogen, for pumping the barrage foundations and for other purposes. (See p. 49.)

Par. 6.—In this par. *Mr. Cameron states emphatically that the Sukkur Barrage Committee did not recommend that the barrage should be built below the gorge.* This is an important point, and it seems to me, from the papers connected with the present project, that through a misunderstanding it has been taken that the Committee and through them the Secretary of State recommended a lower site. For instance, in par. 16 of Letter No. 10,515 of September 23, 1915, from the Government of Bombay to

the Government of India, it is stated that "the abandonment of the original site for the barrage and headworks, and their location at some distance below the gorge," is "*entirely the outcome of a suggestion made by the London Committee.*"

Then in a printed note, dated July 8, 1915, the Chief Engineer, Bombay, states that "the London Committee have recommended that the barrage should be placed at some distance below the gorge." (See Vol. II., 1920, Appendix C.)

Again, in a letter dated March 8, 1921, the Inspector-General of Irrigation, referring to the preparation of the 1920 Projects, writes that they have simply been "carrying out the orders of the Secretary of State." As a matter of fact, what the Committee said was, that if a suitable site was found below the gorge, it should be *a few miles below the outfall gauge*, because at this place, as pointed out by the Chief Engineer, Bombay, "the heavy rush through the gorge seems to continue its scouring action to a certain extent at the outfall gauge site." (See pp. 12 and 13.)

Par. 7-11.—In these pars. Mr. Cameron discusses the question of sites, and states that he prefers the lower site. In my opinion, after studying the question from every point of view, I prefer a site above the gorge, as fixed originally by Colonel Fife, after most careful examination, seventy years ago. An upper site was recommended by all experts for sixty years, and was finally fixed upon by Sir John Benton, while Inspector-General of Irrigation. (See p. 55.)

The reasons given by Mr. H. F. Beale, while Chief Engineer, Bombay, for the upper site, which are given in Appendix XV., are almost incontrovertible. Mr. Beale afterwards recommended the lower site, but his change of opinion was apparently influenced by the assumption that the Sukkur Barrage Committee actually recommended the lower site.

However, as there is still a difference of opinion as to the sites, the best solution of the difficulty, so as not to cause any further delay, seems to be to proceed with the excavation of the Rohri Canal, which must be made under any circumstances, while, as Mr. Cameron has suggested, "the battle of the sites is being fought."

Par 12.—Mr. Cameron agrees with every expert whom I have consulted, and who knows Sind and the Sindis, that the rates for work are too low, while the forecasts of revenue are too high. He also hints at the ill-effects which might be produced by trying to alter their methods of cultivation too rapidly.

Par. 14.—There is no room for doubt that the Rohri Canal would be a great success, and would suit admirably for the initial stages of Sind's long-awaited-for development.

Mr. Cameron also gave his opinion, as a member of the Sukkur Barrage Committee, on certain points in connection with a misunderstanding regarding the detailed project for the Right Bank Canals and their inclusion in the project.

This most unfortunate misunderstanding, which has caused several years' delay in Sind's development, is explained in the following extracts from letters :

Letter dated July 28, 1919

1. "For the Rohri Hyderabad Canal I think we were all of the opinion that the barrage was not essential—that is to say, in all probability the canal would work well without the assistance of the barrage." (See p. 62, par. 32.)

2. "The figures you give of gauge readings in June and September are more than interesting, and, as far as the Rohri Hyderabad Canal is concerned, I believe, as I have said, that the canal would give good results without a barrage." (See p. 34.)

Letter dated February 29, 1920

1. "Nothing had been stated, as far as I remember, in the papers before us of any site for a barrage having been investigated other than that above Sukkur. We therefore recommended that, if that were the case, a site below Sukkur should be examined. We hoped that one season's work would have sufficed to make observations which would decide the best site—i.e., the site with the smallest number of objections to it—and I could not understand why, even after six years, the project had not been resubmitted." (See p. 45, par. 9.)

I heard a little while ago, however, that the delay was due to the preparation of a detailed project for the Right Bank Canal.

"I need not say the Committee never suggested that a complete project for the Right Bank Canal should be prepared before the whole scheme could be considered. But they did suggest that an approximate estimate of the cost should be made, and in considering the financial results the whole scheme should be looked upon as one. At all events, the Government of India should know the worst." (See p. 74, par. 20.)

2. "I agree with you in thinking that there is no reason why excavation of the Rohri Canal should not be commenced while the battle of the sites is being fought."

"THE TIMES"

Leader on July 26, 1921

IRRIGATION IN INDIA

The Secretary of State for India seems to have decided to sanction the construction of a great barrage across the Indus at Sukkur, at an estimated cost of £18,500,000. Thus, by a stroke of the pen, Mr. Montagu contemplates settling a long-standing and hotly contested controversy. On no great engineering project have experts differed more seriously. One school maintains that the barrage should be constructed before the making of a canal on the left bank of the Indus. The other school has maintained, and still maintains, that the construction of the barrage, before making the canal, will involve grave risk of a total loss of all the money expended on the barrage. The whole question was discussed at a meeting of the East India Association yesterday. At that meeting no single voice

was raised in favour of Mr. Montagu's decision, whereas many competent authorities expressed the conviction that the economic, financial, and political issues involved are far too grave to be decided by the mere *ipse dixit* of the Secretary of State for India. Lord Lamington, the chairman of the meeting, read a letter from Lord Lytton intimating that the Secretary of State in Council has decided in favour of giving the barrage preference, subject to its being shown that the project can be financed to completion without undue difficulty. The estimates of expense, which have apparently influenced the Secretary of State, were gravely questioned yesterday by Sir Lionel Jacob, who was a member of the committee which advised the Secretary of State in 1913. He declared that these estimates greatly understated expenditure and overstated probable receipts, and he expressed his opinion with much confidence that the whole scheme would be a financial failure.

It is not only the construction of the barrage before the canal which is in question. The position of the barrage itself is also a matter of controversy. For many years it has been understood that the barrage, when built, would be placed at the head of the Sukkur Gorge. The present proposal is to construct it some distance below the gorge, and experts who spoke at yesterday's meeting evidently believe that this may have the result of deflecting the course of the Indus, notoriously a river liable to change of course. If these fears should be realized, and the river should change its course as the result of the construction of the barrage, economic ruin might fall in a night on unnumbered people. Unless we mistake, the estimate for the construction of the barrage includes no calculation of the cost of works which might be necessary to prevent this calamity. In such a matter partisanship is out of the question, but it seems evident that any decision by the Secretary of State under these conditions must be premature. That view was strongly urged yesterday, and many of the speakers pleaded that, before any decision is taken by Mr. Montagu, independent expert advice should be obtained. The idea that a committee of independent experts should be asked to report on the whole project is not a new one. It was advocated yesterday by Sir Walter Hughes, who gained his early engineering experience in Sind, and is not the least distinguished engineer of our day with long Indian experience. The Secretary of State, we believe, will be well advised to take note of these suggestions. If he decides to appoint such an independent committee, their report should be the final arbiter in a matter which clearly requires the most expert decision that can be obtained.

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OBITUARY

THE LATE LORD REAY

K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C.

IN Donald James Mackay—Lord Reay—Knight of the Thistle, and Chief of the Clan Mackay, the Commonwealth of Great Britain has lost one of its most thoughtful and broad-minded statesmen, and India one of the best and truest of her friends.

The last public gathering over which his Lordship presided a short time before his death was the Annual General Meeting of the East India Association, whose deliberations and activities he had guided as President, in succession to Sir Richard Temple, for more than a quarter of a century.

At this annual meeting he had the pleasure of greeting, in a graceful and felicitous speech, his old friend the Maharao of Cutch, who had come to London as a Representative of India on the Imperial Conference; and soon after this meeting it was made known that H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, at his Lordship's invitation, had been graciously pleased to become a Vice-President of the Association. Like these, there are many instances of the lively interest Lord Reay took in that body.

Lord Reay's high scholarship, administrative experience, deep sympathy and interest in all questions connected with the welfare of India had a most beneficial influence on the usefulness and success of the East India Association, and in directing its affairs he always displayed the same tact, kindness, and broad-minded toleration which had distinguished him as Governor of Bombay.

Educated as a jurist at the Leyden University, trained in the colonial system of the Dutch Government, having acquired some years' experience in its Legislature (where he had made secondary, agricultural, and industrial educational subjects his special study), and from 1877, when he became domiciled in Great Britain, having made himself

thoroughly familiar with questions concerning her Imperial responsibilities and obligations, it may well be doubted if the long list of British rulers of India affords any parallel to Lord Reay of a home statesman so fully equipped for the duties of governing one of her largest provinces (and perhaps the most important), to rule over which he was appointed in 1885. To add to these antecedent qualifications, Lord Reay sought by personal contact with prominent people of Indian experience, in the short interval before he started for India, an acquaintance with the conditions of life in that country, and the character and aspirations of her people; and on the eve of his departure, at a dinner given in his honour under the presidency of Lord Northbrook in London, he revealed such a knowledge of the duties and responsibilities of the office upon which he was about to enter, and gave pledges of the sympathetic attitude which was to mark his career in such clear and emphatic terms, that on his landing in Bombay he was at once welcomed by the people as a friend and well-wisher. This reputation he was fortunate enough to maintain unchallenged up to the date of his departure from her shores five years afterwards, and indeed up to the very close of his illustrious career.

Nothing but a very shadowy outline of the events of those five years could possibly be attempted here. Nor is it necessary, for, in fact, into the details of every department of his administration Lord Reay entered with such diligent care, introduced so many changes and reforms, established so many useful precedents, and elevated its standard to so high a level, that a record of his activities has been worthily chronicled in a large volume by no less an authority than Sir W. W. Hunter. This unique tribute to the unexampled success of Lord Reay's administration of an Indian province deserves careful study by all interested in India.

Here we can only briefly allude to the personal and public features in the character and career of Lord Reay which contributed to his remarkable success as a Governor.

A broad-minded policy, backed by a sympathetic regard for the reasonable aspirations of the people committed to his charge, was the keynote of all his activity. Soon after he entered upon his functions in actual government he began to cultivate personal acquaintance with prominent citizens of Bombay, with the result that he found among the younger generation able men whom he could call into his councils or to public duties in preference to those who previously had occupied those positions in a more or less ornamental capacity. By this means he inspired confidence in the public mind as to the genuineness of the official desire to secure non-official co-operation in legislation, and at the same time won over to the Government side possible opponents; and it is believed by many that, had Lord Reay's methods of mediation and conciliation been subsequently continued, the support of men of the Tilak class and the extreme Opposition might have been secured in the best interests of the Bombay Government and the people of the Presidency.

The relations of rulers of Native States, usually amicable, with the British Government and officials were also greatly stimulated for the better by the intimate personal intercourse which Lord Reay assiduously maintained with the Chiefs themselves. He gave early proof of his earnest desire to respect their rights, privileges, and dignity; and the critical appreciation from close study of their personal characters and their methods of administration which he formed enabled him to reward merit or to give timely caution against misrule, thus securing their confidence in him as a true friend. This was shown in a marked degree by the Valedictory Address from the Chiefs of Kathiawar, in which they prayed that Lord Reay might return to India in a higher capacity, for they really felt that on his departure from Bombay they were losing a sincere well-wisher and genuine guide.* His relations with them were

* The following sentence occurs in the address, which was drafted by Mr. (now Sir) M. M. Bhownagree under special instructions from the Chiefs: "May you continue to take uninterrupted interest in the welfare of

based on the principle of non-interference, so that even when in some rare cases of persistent maladministration he was compelled to resort to severe measures, the fairness of his decision was acknowledged, and the belief of the general body of Chiefs in him as a guardian of their rights was not shaken. Indeed it may be said that their attachment to the British Crown was strengthened to a considerable extent during Lord Reay's régime.

Thus entrenched, as it were, in the confidence of both the Princes and the people, Lord Reay found that he could secure their agreement and co-operation even for those radical measures which, conceived by him in their interest, might still have provoked distrust and opposition on account of their novelty or as being repugnant to the popular conservative instinct. Land and Municipal Administration, Forestry, Excise, Public Works, University, Secondary, Elementary, Technical, Agricultural Education, Medical and Sanitary Improvement, the Establishment of Hospitals, Nursing Homes, and Dispensaries, the Extension of Railways, and almost every other department of administration which admitted of reforms and development, all fell within the scope of Lord Reay's far-sighted activities. They were the result of his own personal study and research, of his firm conviction of their necessity; and it is a signal proof of his hold over the public mind that while none of these reforms of any importance called forth serious resistance, many which required voluntary financial help, like educational endowments, hospitals, etc., were generously supported by Chiefs and opulent citizens without any official pressure whatever.

In recording this brief note of a highly successful and eventful gubernatorial career, it is but fair to recall that Lord Reay had the advice and help of two powerful colla-

the land over whose destinies your Excellency has presided with such conspicuous success for the last five years, and may the experience of that eventful period be devoted to the service of the Queen-Empress and of this country even in a more exalted sphere of activity than the one you are just relinquishing."

borators. The memorable tenure of office by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught as Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army and as a Member of the Bombay Government synchronized with that of Lord Reay, and from him and his Royal Consort on the one hand, and on the other from Lady Reay (whose popularity was deservedly unbounded amongst all classes), the Governor derived invaluable and constant support in the accomplishment of his many-sided philanthropic schemes. With their help, too, it was rendered possible for him to break through much of that racial prejudice and aloofness which had till then prevented the social amenities of Government House and official circles from being freely extended to even the upper classes of Indians, not excepting high functionaries and Native Chiefs. This exclusiveness had, Lord Reay discovered almost at the beginning of his régime, resulted in an estrangement between the two communities, British and Indian, and been a source of much misunderstanding ; and its removal with a firm but courteous determination in the teeth of much opposition is perhaps not the least of those achievements which, even after the lapse of a generation, still endear the name and memory of Lord Reay to a people over whom he ruled so sympathetically and successfully for five eventful years.

It may well be claimed for Lord Reay that he was one of the makers of modern Bombay ; and it was hoped by many that he would have returned to India as Viceroy. But this was not to be. And India's loss proved London's gain. For, upon his release from office as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, his Lordship devoted his energies to home educational problems, and on the resignation of Lord Londonderry he was elected Chairman of the London School Board, where, by his sound judgment, great charm of manner, and tranquil yet determined courtliness, he succeeded in stilling the wild sectarian and political tempests which often shook that turbulent body. He thus rendered admirable service to the cause of Education in the Metropolis of the Empire.

Lord Reay was a great master of languages, speaking French, German, Dutch, and Spanish with the slow stateliness and clear enunciation which distinguished his utterance of perfect English. One of his last educational acts was to bestow his blessing on "The International Language," evolved by the genius of Dr. L. L. Zamenhof, by becoming a Patron of the Twelfth British Esperanto Congress held at Harrogate two months before he died.

He held in his time many offices. He was the eleventh Baron Reay in the Peerage of Scotland and the first Baron Reay in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, besides being Baron Mackay of Ophemert in the Kingdom of Holland. He was Lord-Lieutenant of Roxburgh in Scotland, a Lord Rector of the University of St. Andrews, Chancellor of the University of Bombay, President of the East India Association, of the Royal Asiatic Society, of University College, London, and of the British Academy.

In recognition of his services to India he was created a G.C.I.E. in 1887 and a G.C.S.I. three years later, and in 1906 he became a Privy Councillor—the Knighthood of the Thistle being added to his honours in 1911.

He was a British Plenipotentiary at the Peace Conference at The Hague in 1907, and was an earnest advocate of peace. But when the war broke out he threw all his influence into helping the British Army; and the Clan Mackay, of which he was the Chief, rallied gloriously to the pibroch call. Eleven hundred of them joined the colours, and no fewer than seventy came over from New Zealand in one transport.

Full of years and well-won honours, Lord Reay bore up bravely to the end, and then, not without a certain dramatic fitness, the Chief of the Clan Mackay passed tranquilly away in the land of his forefathers from the noise and bustle of an August holiday

"To where beyond these voices there is Peace."

M. M. BROWNAGGREE.
JOHN POLLEN.

COMMERCIAL SECTION

THE IRON AND STEEL POSITION IN INDIA

THE basis for a successful iron and steel industry is not simple. High-grade iron ore alone is insufficient, as in addition it must be near a coalfield containing coking coal, have supplies of limestone or dolomite, and, unless the internal demand is a large enough one, be near the seaboard.

There are thus four conditions to be fulfilled, other than labour, and it is curious how few countries do fulfil all. The United States has excellent iron ore (50 per cent. iron), but the haul from the iron mines to the coalfield is 800 miles, and the distance to the seaboard 250 to 300 miles. In the North of England the Cleveland district fulfils three conditions, but its ore is relatively low grade—30 per cent. iron. South Wales uses 50 per cent. ore, but has to bring it from Spain. India, in fact, is the country which most nearly fulfils the four conditions, and is thus destined to become one of the world producers of steel.

Until 1911 one ironworks existed in India, using a low-grade coal obtained in the ironstone shales of the coalfields, and leading a somewhat precarious existence.

The discovery of the rich, extensive orefields of Orissa and their use has since 1910 revolutionized the industry and made it a most prosperous one. Schemes already in operation make it certain that the output in five years' time will be $\frac{1}{2}$ million tons pig-iron and $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 million tons steel. The average percentage of metallic iron in the Orissa ores is 62 per cent., as compared with 50 per cent. in the American and Spanish ores, and 30 per cent. in the Cleveland ores.

The distance of the orefields from the coalfields is 150 miles only.

The ores exist in low hills, are worked in quarries at a low cost, and the quantity available is estimated at 3,000 million tons. The cost of mining and transporting to the coalfields (where ironworks are usually situated) the iron ore necessary to make one ton of pig-iron is—

		£	s.	d.
India ... ..	...	0	7	0
United States (Lake Superior ores) ...	...	2	0	0
North of England...	...	3	6	0
South Wales ... ..	...	2	0	0

Limestone or flux is plentiful in India within 200 miles of the coalfields, and can be cheaply worked, but the same applies to most iron countries; and the cost of putting into works the flux necessary for making 1 ton of pig-iron is much the same in all the countries mentioned above, and is 3s. per ton pig-iron. Indian coal is the dearest of the three products necessary for making steel, and the quantity of first-class cokeing coals is by no means limitless.

India possesses a number of coalfields, stretching from the Singeni coalfields of Hyderabad Deccan to those of Assam, but the most valuable, from extent and proximity to seaboard, lie along the valley of the Damuda River, west of Calcutta.

The Ranigunj coalfield, lying 140 miles west of Calcutta, is 500 square miles in area, and as the railway passed through it early in the development of the country (in 1857) it was opened out first.

It contains large quantities of first-class coal, and in the Deshegur Seam coal furnishes the best-known Indian coal, while its reserves of second-grade coal are literally enormous. It is poor in cokeing coals, however. At one time contributing 95 per cent. of the output of India, it has long been passed by its younger brother the Jherria coalfield.

The Jherria coalfield, thirty miles farther west, was not developed until 1886, when a railway was put into it. Its area is not as great as that of the Ranigunj (Jherria, 150

square miles), but there are few places in the world where more coal in a concentrated area exists—for instance, in Central Jherria the first 400 feet of strata from the surface contain 100 feet of good coal. It has rapidly increased its output to twelve million tons, but 1920 showed, for the first time, a serious decrease.

Practically all its coal is cokeing—half of it first-grade coal. A further thirty miles west lies the Bakaro-Jherria coalfield, 260 square miles in area. It has been developed in the last five years, but the useful seams are limited in area, and the field is not likely to become a large producer.

Again forty miles to the west are the Karanpura coalfields, 540 square miles in area, and at present being prospected. Large quantities of good coal have been found in the southern portion, a railway is being constructed into it, and its early and vigorous development is certain.

Until recent years the equipment of Indian collieries was poor. Working conditions, such as dip roof and water, were favourable, and when working near the surface no elaborate machinery was required. The last ten years has seen a great advance in equipment, and several groups of collieries exist in which all operations—winding, hauling, and pumping—are done electrically, from current generated at a central general station.

First-class Indian coal is not as good as English, as the ash percentage is 11 to 12 per cent. compared with 2 to 5 per cent., but the cokeing varieties make a fair, serviceable hard coke. While the quantity of first-class cokeing coal in the Bengal coalfields is great, the output is nothing like as large as it would be if mechanical coal-cutters were used, and the coming years must see a large increase in the use of mechanical coal-cutters.

Before the war Indian coal was amongst the cheapest in the world. For instance, the Indian railways usually paid 5s. 6d. per ton at pit's mouth for their coal. During the war prices were controlled, but the last year has seen a

steady rise in price of coal, and the price railways have contracted to pay for the next three years is 13s. per ton. The causes of the increase are two—first, a sensational drop in output from $22\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1919 to $17\frac{1}{4}$ millions in 1920, due to labour not working so hard, a feature common to labour all over the world; and, secondly, to the increasing internal demand.

Labour will recover from the slackness from which it is now suffering—as labour all over the world will—but it will take some time to reach the figure of 1919, while the general industrial development of India and the special development of the iron and steel industry, based on coal, makes the question of coal-supplies one of the most urgent industrial problems of India. The development of other coalfields than Ranigunj and Jherria is an urgent matter, since they will tap fresh labour areas and increase output quickly.

The Indian coal trade seems to have certainly three prosperous years ahead of it.

Taking the price of Indian coal at 13s. per ton, the cost at the works of the coal necessary to make 1 ton of pig-iron is 24s. per ton.

The similar cost is 27s. in the case of the United States, 30s. in the case of South Wales, and 35s. in the case of the North of England.

It is difficult to estimate the prices of raw materials in England at present, where the economic situation is in such a state of flux, but in the figures given an endeavour has been made to give ample allowance for the recent drop in prices. For instance, coal in the case of England has been taken at £1 per ton, Spanish ore for South Wales at £1 per ton, whereas recent prices were £2 10s. and £1 15s. per ton respectively.

To sum up the raw material position in the various countries, and taking as an index figure the cost of delivering to an ironworks all the raw materials necessary for making 1 ton of pig-iron, this figure is—

					£	s.	d.
India	...	...	...	...	1	14	0
United States	...	...	...	...	3	10	0
England (Cleveland)	...	...	...	...	3	14	0
England (South Wales)	...	...	...	...	3	13	0

The Indian figure is less than half the others, or £2 per ton lower.

The item so far left out of consideration is labour, which now bulks so largely in every industrial proposition.

Indian labour is in a sense both cheap and dear—cheap in that the sum paid per day is low, dear in that the output per man is low.

The true criterion—cost of work done—while lower than European countries, is not abnormally low. The Indian workman, on the whole, is not a difficult proposition. Lacking initiative, he is a good imitator, and on the repetition work characteristic of modern industrial operations is quite useful, once properly taught.

Having customs and habits which are perhaps suitable, or which were once suitable, to a tropical climate, he resents interference with them.

Wages have risen considerably in the last three years, and present rates are from 3 rupees per day for skilled labour to 12 annas for unskilled. In spite of the relatively low rates of pay, the adoption of labour-saving machinery is always desirable.

The percentage of Europeans to natives in ironworks in India is not large, and the total labour and supervision charge not excessive.

At the present time, with present prices, pig-iron can be produced at a cost of 40s. per ton, or put on board ship in Calcutta for £2 5s. a ton.

Prices in other countries have fluctuated to an extraordinary extent recently, and while pig-iron in England has been as high as £14 per ton, and steel rails as high as £24, in the last two years, prices in July this year were as low as £6 for pig-iron and £14 for steel rails.

Even these prices are above the prices at which Con-

tinental makers are willing to deliver in England. It is considered probable that the pig-iron price in England will stabilize near £5 per ton. India is thus certain, in virtue of its rich ore and proximity to ore, coalfields, and sea-board, to be the cheapest producer of pig-iron, and consequently of steel, in the world.

The Indian market for all pig-iron and steel must be lost to England and the Continent as soon as the existing works and those under construction are capable of satisfying the demand.

In countries such as South Africa, South America, and the Far East, the Indian steel industry will eventually be a keen competitor with England, the Continent, and the United States.

THE NATURAL AND COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF NORTHERN KURDISTAN

By G. R. DRIVER

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ALTHOUGH Kurdistan has never been considered rich, the prevalent opinion seems to have been founded on ignorance of the commercial prospects of the country; for there is evidence of an abundance of minerals as yet almost wholly unexploited, and considerable scope for the rearing of sheep and other cattle, and, to a lesser degree, for the development of agriculture. This view was shared by the ancients, for only one Roman writer, the historian Sallust, mentions any article of commerce exported from the land of the Cordueni (Kurds); in a fragment of his lost "*Histories*," which has been preserved in the writings of another author, it is stated that "balsam and other light spices are produced among the Cordueni."* A Jewish writer in the Talmud refers to the corn of Qardū,† and Ibn Khurdādhbih, a Persian postmaster in the province of Jibāl in the ninth century, mentions that salt was prepared in large quantities at Bāsûrin, near Jazrat-ibn-'Umar, and exported by water to 'Irâq.‡

Of the earthy minerals, gypsum and salt are both found in the Jaztrah; while gypsum of an inferior quality is also found from the Persian Gulf to Kirkûk, and seams of brown coal occur to the north of Mârdîn, at Harbul, near Jazrat-ibn-'Umar, and in the valley of the Bukhtân Şu in the neighbourhood of Sairt. Coal has also been worked at Şalâhiyah,

* Sallustius, "*Historia*," Fragment iv., 72.

† "*Hullîn*," 54 b. The dinars to which reference is made in the same passage are probably coins, not of the Gordiæi (Kurds), but of one of the emperors named Gordianus (Neubauer, "*Géographie du Talmud*," p. 379, n. 2).

‡ Ibn Khurdādhbih, "*Book of the Roads and Countries*," p. 245.

near Kifri, though there it is said to have been of poor quality. Iron ore is found in various localities to the west of Lake Urumtyah, and lead is found in the same parts, in the valley of the Bukhtân Şû, and in the upper valley of the Greater Zab, while copper occurs in the valley of the Mûrad Şû and to the west of Lake Urumtyah, in the Uramar district, as well as in the neighbourhood of Dahuk. In the mountains of Arghana Ma'dîn there used to be copper-mines which are now extinct.*

In Persian Kurdistan various ores of a low grade have been found in the Qarâ Dâgh, and gold has been found in the valley of the Bukhtân Şû at Kawand, near Zinjân, and at Şamighân in the Qûh-i-gard mountains. In the Qarâ Dâgh Mountains copper occurs in numerous localities, while zinc and tin have both been reported along the same belt of hills. In the same district, at Takht-i-Sulaimân, and elsewhere in Kurdistan, mercury and cinnabar are known to occur.

The minerals of the Zagros mountains are of the greatest importance, for in them are the famous oil wells,† as well as deposits of rock-salt and of gypsum. Borax occurs near Lake Urumtyah and in several places in Persian Kurdistan. The Persian oilfield extends well into Southern Kurdistan, and some of the wells, like those of Kirkûk, are of great antiquity. But the most promising field is the long belt extending along the foot of the Zagros hills from Mauşil to the Persian Gulf. The district from Qulâb to Ahwâz and Shushtar has already been developed by the Anglo-

* Sir Mark Sykes records that he had seen Kurds working in a copper-mine at Bakîr Ma'dîn at the foot of the Taurus range ("Last Heritage of the Caliphs," p. 364).

† About one and a half hours' journey, for example, to the east of Zâkhû are two areas of petroleum springs. Part of this petroleum is purified by the local Kurds in a caldron installation near the springs, but the larger part of the supply is sent for preparation to Zâkhû, where there are two similar installations. The residue, consisting of the by-products of tar, serves for fuel to heat the caldrons, but the whole management of the business is very wasteful. The springs need cleansing; they should be roofed over and enclosed to prevent the entrance of impurities, while an estimate also of their capacity is required.

Persian Oil Company, and has yielded a profitable return. Its economic value is well established, and until 1916 its wells produced more oil than the capacity of its line and refinery could carry, and the residue had to be burnt. In the Zagros group, which extends from Bagbdad north-westwards to the Tigris and Hammâm 'Ali, the numerous oil springs and deposits of gypsum occur along three lines. The largest, which is over a thousand miles in length, and is the biggest oilfield in the world, begins at Hammâm 'Alt, about twenty miles to the south-east of Mauşil, where there is a series of hot sulphur springs; extends through Kirkûk, where there are many oil wells situated amongst ridges of sandstone and conglomerate; and then splits into two lines. The northern branch continues its south-easterly course past Tûz-Khurmatli, and terminates at Qaşr-i-Shitrîn, where crude oil has long been obtained from shallow pits and from springs; the other branch begins at a point about forty miles to the south of Mauşil at Kaiyarah on the Tigris, and extends to Şalâhiyah, near Kifri, attaining a length of two hundred miles. The third and most westerly line starts from Al-Ḥadhr, about fifty miles to the west-south-west of Mauşil, runs through the bituminous limestones and sulphur springs on the bank of the Tigris, and continues down to Mandali, where there were oil wells described by Meissner in 1874, and where in 1892 thirty wells were producing oil, which was carried by camels to Baghdad. The importance of this oil belt lies in the fact that it is situated close to the valley of the Tigris along the track which will doubtless be followed by the railway from Asia Minor to Baghdad.*

The industries of Kurdistan remain almost undeveloped, owing to the lack of facilities for the transport of its products to the sea. There is only one railway, the so-called Berlin-Baghdad railway, which is still unfinished; before

* See "The Geology of Mesopotamia and its Borderlands," compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty (I.D. 1177), § 8, pp. 65-76.

the war it was not connected with the railway system in Asia Minor, the tunnel through the Taurus range having been completed only a few weeks before the Armistice, and even now it only reaches to the neighbourhood of Naşibin and is consequently still unconnected with the section at Baghdad. Other sectors of the same line, though begun, remain incomplete, and a few *décauilles*, also in the same condition, are in existence.* In Southern Kurdistan there are no railways.

The timber industry, once a flourishing business, is now almost extinct through the reckless felling of trees in a country where afforestation is unknown; but some wood is still cut in the mountains behind Birtjik, where it is used for the making of a kind of ferry-boat, called a *shakhtûrah*, used on the Euphrates. So scarce indeed is timber that in many villages dried manure and thistles are used for fuel, while in others all fuel has to be imported. Another hindrance to the development of the land is the lack of artificial irrigation, which is practised hardly anywhere except in the orchards round Wân and Bidlis. Further, the natural indolence of the Kurd leads him to prefer millet and rye to other crops as needing the least attention, or to confine himself to the rearing of vast flocks of sheep and goats and

* The chief towns in Northern Kurdistan, which are those lying along the caravan track from Aleppo to Maûsil, are, with their populations, Birtjik (7,000), Urfah (30,000), Diyârbakr (40,000), Mârdîn (40,000), Naşibin (5,000), and Jazirat-ibn-'Umar (5,000); to these must be added Bidlis (35,000), Wân (28,000), and Mûsh (1,400).

In April, 1914, a concession was granted to a French company, the *Régie Générale de Chemins de Fer et de Travaux Publics*, for the execution of a comprehensive scheme of railways in Armenia. In return for the negotiation of a loan of 800,000,000 francs to the Turkish Government through certain French banks, the company was empowered to build the following lines: (1) Connecting Samsun, Siwâs, Kharpût, and Arghana; (2) connecting Arghana, Bidlis, and Wân; (3) connecting Arzarûm and Trebizond; (4) connecting Arzarûm, Arzingân, and Siwâs. These lines were to be completed within three years, and the concession granted the company the reversion of the ports of Samsun and Trebizond, in the event of the lapsing of the agreement then in existence with the National Bank of Turkey.

large herds of horses and cattle, especially in the provinces of Diyârbakr* and Wân; in 1906, indeed, there were said to be over 3,000,000 sheep in the latter province alone, but since then their number has been much reduced. Still, however, merchants come every spring from Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt, and make extensive purchases of sheep and cattle, as well as of the mules raised in the hills in these provinces.

Of manufactures there are very few. The most widespread industry is the weaving on hand-loom of *manussak*, a cloth made of native cotton, which is worked into Oriental garments worn at Diyârbakr, Aleppo, and Maûşil. Similar clothes of native cotton are woven at Wân and elsewhere, while a few native hand-loom weave cloth and *muhair* also at Wân and Shattakh. A coarse white cloth is made for native shirting on a small scale at Mûsh and also at Bidlîs, where it is frequently dyed red. In Diyârbakr the local silk-cocoons are reeled and the produce woven; silk goods to a less extent are woven at Wân, where, too, some velvet is made. Woollen goods are hand-woven at Khunûs; at Shattakh in the *wilâyah* of Wân Persian shawls are imitated, being woven from the fleecy underwool of sheep; and a material of mixed wool and cotton, known as *shâl*, is made from goats' hair at Wân. Another very important industry throughout Kurdistan is the weaving of rugs and carpets, which is especially practised in the provinces of Diyârbakr and Wân. There are two kinds of these articles: the *kali*, of which there is a smaller variety called the *kalichak*, is prepared on the Persian model with a pile, and is cut like plush; the *killim* is a smooth fabric, often used in Europe, to which they are exported through the Persian Gulf, for curtains, hangings, and the covers of chairs. The Kurdish women make the *killim* of an inferior quality, but their main occupation is embroidery. The work is done on wool or linen in

* In Diyârbakr a special breed of Angora goat is reared for the sake of its wool, called *muhair*.

silk and tinsel, and shows considerable artistic skill. For purposes of export it is customary to use the fabric of the country to which the finished product is to be sent instead of the hand-made native cloths. Wân is especially noted for its embroidery and tapestry, and in some districts the dress of the people is covered with the former material.

Other industries are the production of china and glass at Diyârbakr and pottery at Mûsh; linseed-oil is refined at Wân, and the oil used for lighting; soap is prepared at Wân from the saline deposits of the lake; and there are flour-mills at Diyârbakr and elsewhere.* There are also in every town purely local manufactures, which contribute nothing to the export trade, such as the making of red slippers at Mârdîn, the mention of which would be tedious and of no value to the reader. But it must always be borne in mind that there is considerable wealth, chiefly obtained by the rearing of horses, goats, and sheep, already to be found in Northern Kurdistan, and it is highly probable that the natural resources of the country, if carefully developed, can yet be made to yield a substantial revenue.

* On the whole question of the products of Northern Kurdistan, see 'Armenia and Kurdistan' (No. 62 of the Handbooks prepared under the direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office), pp. 32-79.

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

EDUCATION OF INDIANS—AT HOME AND ABROAD

BY SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY

LIKE everything else, education is drifting in India. Nation building, constitution building, building up of trade, industry, commerce, and agriculture are all in the melting-pot and the immediate future, though uncertain and dim, is bound to be big with events. How all this is to turn out and how society is going to shape itself will depend upon the turn that education takes and upon its extent, character, and depth—education, that is to say, in its modern and latterly accepted sense—in all departments of human activity.

So far as knowledge, thought, information, culture, and spirituality are concerned, there would not be lack of materials for building up of sound educational machinery to suit modern requirements, if all concerned would loyally help and co-operate. But this machinery would have to be carefully co-ordinated with past history, present surroundings, and future requirements. You cannot ignore the past and its history; there is no "clean slate" of the modern politician for a fresh and irresponsible start in the domains of education. As a recent writer, Mr. Frederick Gould, contends, the aim of education should be the service of family and commonwealth expressed through industry, inspired by history, and perpetually responsive to the claims of humanity. Hence, he says, history should be unfolded by teachers as the record of economic, intellectual, artistic, and moral evolution from the times of the primitive man.

Education not in proper perspective with the requirements, traditions, capabilities, and achievements of the people concerned, would have all the weakness, vice, and disabilities of an exotic. Education such as is understood in

modern India has gone through phases largely dominated by these disabilities. But a sort of working compromise has been achieved, which has in a manner become a part and parcel of our system. It cannot be lightly disturbed without grave unbalancing all round. This has been one of the principal difficulties in the way of evolving what ordinarily goes under the name of national education—a name used by various people in various senses and from divergent and sometimes antagonistic points of view.

There is hardly a country known to recent or ancient civilization where education in all its aspects has been beset with so much difficulty as in India. The poverty of the people and their unwillingness to avail of education are not the chief difficulties. In fact, with regard to national education, such as one school would advocate, people's poverty had nothing to do with the question at all. So far as the teacher was concerned—the *Guru*, the *Bramhan* of the best and the truest type—his was a vow of poverty, and he would accept no fees or remuneration for teaching, though society in some shape or another had the high obligation cast upon it of keeping him. But it was no more than keeping body and soul together, in view of the vow of poverty, under which one eats to live and does not live to eat. On the other hand, in some cases the *Guru* boused, fed, and taught the disciple free of all charges. *Gurus* of classic fame, *Kulapatis* of revered memory, would look after ten thousand students. Everything that was done, said, thought, or formally taught was, under this system, an essential part of education, upon which society, as was conceived and constructed, largely rested. And there was, and could and need be, no demand or agitation for what in later days came to be called "free compulsory education." Statisticians who figure out educational percentage according to latter-day notions should therefore have to remember that every man, woman, and child, if he or she was and is a good *Hindoo*, a good *Mahomedan*, a good *Buddhist*, or a good *Jain*, is bound to receive and

does receive a certain amount of education. It is in many senses education of the highest type, an inseparable and essential part of their life, enabling a fine discrimination between right and wrong and assisting in development of citizenship in all its domains. All this might be and often would be without any reference to the three R's, so dear to the latter-day Directors of Public *Instruction*, into whose calculation *education* may not often enter.

People are not only not unwilling but are more than willing to imbibe, and in fact are obliged to imbibe, *education* of this high order. And what is absolute and downright commonplace with them, as a result of this universal system of "free and compulsory" education, has, when charmingly translated into English and other European languages, been the wonder of Europe and America, starving for such-like life-giving draughts.

Indian contact with the East and the West has been long and wide. Assyrians and Egyptians, Babylonians and Chinese in the remote past, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Jews in recent times, have been in constant intercourse with her for some reason or another. And, later on, Moslems and Europeans have been in a similar position. That in the recently found correspondence—found by German scholarship and enterprise—between the Hindoo kings of Mesopotamia and the Ptolemys, the Vedic gods *Rudra*, *Maruts*, and *Varuna*, and others often largely figure, that *Vaisnava* and Christian teachings are similar not only in ethics, sentiments, and almost expressions, that ancient and lost Sanskrit works have been found translated in Tibetan and Chinese, that Goethe was charmed by *Sakuntala* or Schopenhauer was consoled by *Dara Shekoe's* translation of *Bhagabat gita*, subsequently translated into Latin, are not the only bases of a fairly sweeping generalization about India's broad-based catholicity in education. Wide-visioned scholars and historians will have no difficulty in appreciating that education, in the most comprehensive sense, was not merely the backbone

and essence of Hindoo society, but was practically its only integer. Religion, economics, politics, civic administration in all its branches, were in their turn but the branches of this all-absorbing element of national existence, the all-absorbing nature of which had its strength and weakness. To the Indian, therefore, education need have been or be no matter of compulsion. It is the very breath of his nostrils, and he will have as much of it as any system can supply; and there is room for all the systems that anyone can conceive or furnish. The plane has only changed; so, it is hoped, has the angle of vision.

The difficulty is not to get our schools, colleges, and universities well filled, but to find and maintain enough of them. And the greater difficulty is to make our schools, colleges, and universities do the best in the existing state of things. To the true-hearted son of India, its admirer and devotee, there can be no more real and exacting politics than that of education; and everything else pales before it. And it is up to him to overcome the handicap, if he will really serve the Great Mother. The subject is of appalling vastness, intricacy, and difficulty, which is being daily added to for lack of resources. As a leading morning paper observes about another matter of all-absorbing interest, "there is plenty to be done at any given moment." One reads with relief and reassurance that the recent Moral Education Conference at Geneva, overwhelmed with a multiplicity of topics, resolved to concentrate thought upon international motive applied to education and the service motive as the impelling force to all departments of education whatever—household, kindergarten, primary, secondary, scientific, æsthetic, literary, spiritual, and professional.

And starting upon international motive, as applied to Indian education, one is met with difficulties at both ends, which it is up to the Indian educational philosopher to reconcile as best one may. At one end are hoary traditions, old as the hills, and much older than the hills, for

both the ancients and the moderns would look upon the Himalayas as an uninteresting young anthill. But they are traditions not merely based on idle and fancy speculation, as fashionable "unthinking" ones thought. They are traditions that have, at all events, enabled Hindoo civilization to survive all other ancient civilizations and to give a distinct lead to modern civilization if nothing more. At the other end are stern realities and exacting demands of modern life, which to the hulk of the Indian even at the present time are matters of no moment. Our schools, colleges, and universities, as now conceived and conducted, touch but the outermost of the outer fringe areas, and will continue to do so for many years, if not many hundreds of years, to come. When we talk of education now it is about this outer fringe.

Charged, or likely to be charged, with the solution of live questions like government of the country and development of its resources, it is these outer fringes, exposed to influences from inside as well as outside, that must be the first care of the practical educationist, whom matters of the moment trouble most. The points of view of those viewing the question from outside have been powerfully portrayed in the monumental Report of the Sadler Committee that, for the moment at least, propose to serve no more than monumental purposes. The more is the pity of it. Under the dual system of government, slowly becoming familiar in India, education is, in administrative parlance, a "transferred subject." The people's representatives can, through their responsible ministers of government, make their influence felt. If they do not rest content to thrive on drink and litigation, as ill-fated Bengal must, if they have or can create other than existing resources, ministers and popular representatives are capable of effecting great good.

But how are they likely to do it? In Bengal, which the Sadler Committee primarily advised, neither the central nor the provincial Governments have yet attempted to

touch the issues. Other provinces had their own special Committees, and have adopted, either in original or modified form, such of the Sadler suggestions and recommendations as suited local requirements or local purse, and in the United Provinces the responsible minister in charge of education, with show of considerable pleasantry, referred to the Sadler report as the storehouse of Hindoo scriptural texts to which either disputant could refer for fortifying his own views. That is the fate of all commission reports—those of Arnold, Haldane, Asquith being no exception—and people have at every stage to rely more or less upon empirical solutions limited by the power of the purse. It will depend upon the minister, and all that is behind him, how much of primary, secondary, college, university, or industry education are to benefit by the extremely limited resources at his disposal.

The modern educational structure in British India has been built downwards from the cornice. The foundation has still to come. The East India Company, bent only on dividends, and afraid that education would have untoward administrative results, refrained from all educational outlay long, till Parliament compelled it to take some steps during the first third of the nineteenth century. Missionary and private enterprise alone were long responsible for educational achievements, such as they were, and the Sepoy War of 1857 was followed by the foundation of universities in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. Schools and colleges, that were almost non-existent, came afterwards. Instead of universities following them, they followed the universities—non-teaching examining bodies that set the standard and the pace, and achieved wonderful results. Calcutta was responsible for the educational supervision, not merely of Bengal proper, but also of the North-Western Frontier Provinces, the Punjab, the United Provinces, Behar, Orissa, Assam, Burma, Nagpore, and Ceylon. And to-day, in addition to these three universities—none older than 1858—we have Lahore, Aligarh, Allahabad, Benares, Patna, Dacca,

Rangoon, Lucknow, Mysore, and Hyderabad. Agra, Cawnpore, Nagpore, and Gauhati are wanting their universities, and may get them before long; and among the Native States, Baroda may not long lag behind. And the corollary schools and colleges will also come as far as resources allow. One wonders whether more educational activity will come in the train of the Moplah Revolt, as was the case in the train of the Sepoy Revolt during the last century.

But even when they all, and others on national lines, come, what will it mean for 320 millions? Very little indeed. These modern institutions may probably be helpful in creating learned professions and developing certain features of commerce and industry, when these long-neglected subjects come to be considered worthy of recognition and promotion. But the bulk of their work ought to be, and must be, training of the army of teachers that we shall require from the "international" point of view. University education can, therefore, not be deprecated and belittled by those aiming at, or insisting on, primary or secondary education. Without a full complement of teachers, and capable teachers, no system of primary or secondary education, however well devised or organized, can be of any value. While this is quite true, it must be conceded that without primary and secondary education being adequately strengthened betimes, the best of results from the university system cannot be looked for on any large scale. The two points of view are so inextricably mixed up with one another, that without thorough strengthening both ways the resultant is bound to be poor.

Therefore, for a certain time at all events, and for certain purposes, we have also to look abroad for relief and reinforcement. The number of students leaving India for studies is getting larger every year, but in nothing like the alarming proportion depicted in certain quarters. What the exact number is would always be difficult to ascertain, particularly because students come not only to Great

Britain, but also go to America, Japan, France, Germany, and some to Italy. The number of Indian students in Great Britain is believed to be not larger than three thousand, and many of them would not come here at all unless, for some administrative reason or another, they were obliged to come. Of the rest, some come for professional qualifications, higher or ordinary as the case may be. Those who go to the other countries have to do so either for professional or industrial objective. The number seeking qualification as teachers, though steadily growing, is extremely small. Educational strengthening of India, from what may be called the international point of view, building up of its teachers who would be helpful in the spread of education according to modern methods and notions, ought to be now accelerated most if means are forthcoming.

And statesmanlike treatment of the question by Great Britain, at all events for furtherance of this view, is India's right to demand and expect. "Sky-aspiring and ambitious thoughts" are once again out in India, and the difference in outlook hitherto prevailing must now give way to real "imperial thinking," particularly in the domain of education, where the "little thinker" has no further use. And big thinking is not "merely a matter of quantity." As has been very truly said, "To gain you must give, to grow you must serve, and to reap you must first sow."

It is unworthy and inexpedient on the part of those responsible for British educational institutions and industries to tell our two thousand students—out of a 320 million population—that they are not wanted, that they must not crowd institutions that the British rates and revenues support, that they must not expect facilities in the development of industries because British industries may, in the long run, suffer by Indian competition. If our students have not facility here they will go elsewhere, for nothing and nobody will stop the "quest" or block the stream.

Harmonious work is, therefore, needed more than ever.

THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN DUTCH EAST INDIA.—II

BY P. J. GERKE

(*Dutch Colonial Service*)

Teaching for Native Children

Schools for the People.—When at the beginning of this century the question was considered how the Dutch Indies with more than forty millions of inhabitants could further efficiently the development of the people in general, without overtaxing the treasury, it became clear that the existing system of first and second-class native schools could never lead to a rapid and efficacious spread of teaching for the native population. This consideration led to the organization of the native popular teaching (*désa*-, or village-teaching).

The principle of this institution is "eradication of analphabetism."^{*} These schools for the people, in which very simple teaching is given, and which have to adapt themselves to the needs of the lowest classes of the population, are established in every village, and in the main paid for

* At the end of the year 1917 the number of natives in the islands Java and Madoera amounted to upwards of 33,600,000; the number of "alphabetes"—*i.e.*, such as can write Malay with Latin or the native language with its own letters—was not yet 2 per cent. Outside Java and Madoera the number of natives was at the end of 1917 upwards of 12,500,000; the number of "alphabetes"—*i.e.*, such as could write Malay with Latin or Arabian letters—was very high in some districts (Menado, north of Celebes, 21·3 per cent.—here are many schools of the Protestant Mission; Lampongs, 10·5 per cent.), but much lower in other parts. Of four districts the number is not known, and so an average for the outstations would have no value. "Alphabetism" increases faster than the population, and in a short time the low percentage given for Java (and Madoera) will rise very much.

by them (in Java, the *désa*) and by a very moderate school fee. The Government gives them support, especially by assisting in their establishment, and giving an extra allowance to the teachers. These teachers may be the holders of a certificate of the second-class native schools, who have also passed an easy supplementary examination.

At the close of 1918 the number of these schools was in Java and Madoera 4,473, and outside Java 1,142; the number of pupils respectively 271,000 boys and 27,000 girls, and 55,100 boys and 8,600 girls. The treasury subsidized them in 1918 to an amount of f. 1,300,000.

Second-class Schools or Standard Schools.—Since the first-class schools were reorganized (1914, see below), and received another name, the distinction between the first and second-class schools lost its significance, and the part played by the second-class schools has changed.

At the beginning they had four forms, of late years a fifth form has been added to many of them, whereas in the future they are to have six forms. Their teachers have been trained for their task in special training colleges. In the large centres of commerce, industry, and traffic they are now the normal primary schools for the greater part of the people; in the country, however, they have had in many parts to make room for the schools for the people (*désa* schools), and to assume the part of central Standard Schools amidst them.

The relation between these two kinds of schools now is twofold: children who have gone through the People's School may follow a more extended programme in the Standard School (as a rule, they are admitted into the third form), and the second-class (Standard) school is the place where the future teachers of the People's School get the first part of their training.

In some parts "Continuation Schools" have been established in the centre of People's Schools, consisting only of the third, fourth and fifth form of the Standard School.

Holders of the final certificate of Standard and Continua-

tion Schools* may be further trained for their profession in native Technical, Agricultural, and Teachers' Schools or courses (no Dutch language is taught here). For most of them, however, it is the school from which they enter into practical life.

Among the pupils of these schools and the above-mentioned training schools there is a strong desire to learn Dutch, as some knowledge of the language better their chances to obtain a post in a Government office or in business, and, furthermore, raises their social standing. Private courses to learn Dutch are very popular at present.

At the end of 1918 there were in our archipelago 1,635 of these second-class or Standard Schools, with 220,000 pupils; 31,000 of them had been at a People's (*désa*-) School before entering.

Schools of the First-class or Dutch-Native Schools.—Formerly the difference between the two kinds of native schools was that to those of the first class only children of higher social rank could be admitted, and that the course was extended over six instead of four years; in later time also Dutch was taught in them. In 1914 the first-class schools were organized in such a way that the teaching was, as far as possible, made equal to that given in the second-class European and the Dutch-Chinese School; so that also these native schools give admission to the Primary schools with extended programme (Mulo-schools). Since then the name has been changed into Dutch-Native (Dutch-Javanese, Dutch-Malay, etc.) Schools.

This school is still only accessible to children of higher social rank. This cannot be helped, because it is absolutely impossible to establish many of them as long as not enough efficient and qualified teachers are available, and the social condition of the natives is such as to allow only the higher classes to follow a long (and rather expensive) course of intellectual training.

* The Dutch language is not taught here, only Malay, and, if possible, the vernacular (Javanese, Soendanese, Madoerese, Boeginese, etc.).

When these schools were reorganized, the number of forms was increased from six to seven, that of European teachers from one to three; the other four teachers are natives, and the headmaster, formerly a native, must be a Dutchman. The branches taught are the native language, Malay and Dutch; in the higher forms the medium of teaching is Dutch.

Since 1914 there are special training colleges for native teachers, who have, in the future, to take the places of two Dutch teachers in the Dutch-Native Schools.

The European Primary School, the Dutch-Chinese, and the Dutch-Native School, as we said before, prepare for the Primary School with an extended programme (Mulo), which, consequently, is a school for all the races. Besides giving final teaching, these Mulo-schools, as we saw, also prepare for some special colleges, which were in the beginning destined for natives only, but are, with one exception, also open to European and Chinese. The teaching given here is not University teaching, as it is given in Holland, although it is fairly advanced. Meanwhile, higher teaching has become both necessary and possible. This could not be established on the basis given by the Primary Schools with extended programme (Mulo-schools), which do not go far enough; therefore in 1919 a new school was founded, the General Secondary School, with a six years' course, which is to form the link between Indian primary and Indian higher teaching. This school, of course, is open to all races and nationalities. The education given here may be grouped in two parts, each lasting three years. The first three years, the so-called foundation, is formed by the Mulo-schools, whose plan has been slightly altered; the three years' superstructure is a continuation of the teaching in the foundation, but differs according to the direction into which the students wish to go at the University. So it is of three kinds, viz. :

- (a) The mathematical and physical section for such as wish to study medicine and philosophy ;

- (b) The Eastern-literary-historical section for those who wish to study Eastern languages and literature, geography, and ethnology;
- (c) The Western literary section, for law, classical and Western languages and literature.

As soon as this General Secondary School has trained pupils who wish to begin their University studies in one of the directions above-mentioned, the Indian University will be founded. The opening of the Medical and Law Colleges may be expected in 1923. The Indian University teaching will be of equal standing as that at the Dutch Universities, though the circumstances under which it will be given will, of course, be less favourable in the beginning, owing to the lack of a scientific centre and of extensive libraries.

Of course, the holders of a final certificate of the existing secondary colleges for Indian doctors, veterinary surgeons, native judges, and the like, will have certain facilities for attending the lectures and examinations in the University which is to be founded.* Some of these colleges will develop into University colleges. It is probable that the training at the above-mentioned secondary colleges (for boys that follow only the "foundation" course of the General Secondary Schools) will be continued for some length of time for the formation of secondary professionals.

In July, 1920, the Technical High School was established at Bandoeng (Java) with the aid of private initiative. The enormous demand for engineers in the Indies, caused by economic development and financial and material expansion, made it necessary to have higher technical training (equal to that at Delft) in the Indies.

The entrance to this college is, up to the present, only possible for holders of the final certificate of Secondary Schools—*i.e.*, for Dutchmen only; at the opening, however, one Javanese and one Chinese were also admitted, who held the required certificate.

* As matters stand now, they already enjoy certain facilities for entering the Universities in Holland, where they can take their degree within a short time.

Of course, the number of native and Indian students will rapidly increase as soon as the General Secondary Schools have been at work for a couple of years (mathematical and physical section).

Plans for a secondary technical college (for secondary engineers), in rank above the lower technical school and lower than the Technical High School at Bandoeng, are already in an advanced state of preparation.

There is no more space to describe further the organization of teaching in the Indies, and so we must pass over the teaching arranged locally by municipalities, Christian missionaries (especially in Celebes), humanitarian and native corporations, private native girls' schools (Kartini and Kaoetamaän Istri schools), infant schools, training for native teachers, physical and moral training and boarding schools. Neither can we dwell on the wishes of the natives regarding education, as they have utterance in their Press and associations and in the representative board—the People's Council (Volksraad, opened 1918), as also in the Education Congresses held in 1918 and 1920, and the Education Board.

Of great importance also is the question, which has already been amply considered, in what way the Standard and the Dutch-Native schools might be linked together so that clever native children of lower social rank might also have a chance of enjoying secondary (and higher) instruction.

The main principles of the system may, however, have been made sufficiently clear by what has been given in this article.

The powerful way in which this work of colonial civilization has been taken up is, in the first place, due to Government, which—as was said in its message to the People's Council—considers this task as one of its most important duties, and the far-reaching policy of the Governors-General Idenburg (1909 to 1916) and Count Van Limburg-Stirum

(1916 to 1921), who in their Directors of the Education Department—Drs. Hazeu, Moresco, and Creutzberg—found advisers of the greatest ability.

That the existing state of things, and even the prospects in view, do not yet satisfy everybody is clear. Conflicting interests existing in every colony, here too, cause opposition to the management of the teaching problem, coming from various directions. The Administration, whose aim it has been of late years to do away with the different treatment of the races, as far as possible, also follows this policy in matters of teaching. Where this difference cannot yet be overlooked—as is the case with primary instruction—it is maintained; where it would be wrong, it is done away with, as in the matter of secondary and higher teaching.

The complaints of short-sighted Europeans in the Indies who maintain that far too much money is spent on native teaching—though absolutely unfounded in the eyes of such as are intimately acquainted with the actual state of things—have found an echo in larger circles and a certain portion of the Dutch-Colonial Press ever since we have experienced difficulties in securing a sufficient number of able and competent teachers from Holland. There is now a sad shortage of teachers in the Dutch Primary and also in the Dutch-Chinese and the Dutch-Native schools. However, Government will eventually succeed in conquering these difficulties inherent to this transitional period, and, fortunately, it has not been led by them to change its education policy.

The Dutch Government has frequently admitted that there are shortcomings in the system, but has as often shown that it is always on the alert to do away with them as far as is in its power. Certainly its policy is approved and trusted by the native intellectuals, by the Javanese national-democratic elements, organized in the oldest Javanese corporation, Boedi Oetomo, and is supported by large groups of the Indian population, who begin to realize the importance of teaching, and—a most important thing

in the teaching of the people at large—now oppose it no longer, but, rather, further it. In the execution of this part of its task the Dutch Indian Administration can now moreover reckon on the support and sympathy of the Dutchmen in the Mother Country and the colony itself who are convinced that a policy aiming at a rapid raising of the intellectual, economic, social, and political standard of the inhabitants of the Dutch East Indian Archipelago is the only chance Holland has of keeping up its name as a Colonial Power.

DRAMATIC NOTES

"IF" (*Ambassadors' Theatre*)

BY LORD DUNSANY

THE public taste for plays dealing with the Orient shows no sign of abating. These have so far been chiefly of the spectacular variety. The greatest spectacle of them all, "Chu Chin Chow," has, as is known, broken the records, and is to be followed at His Majesty's Theatre by another play also set in the East. It has been said that these plays are not largely attended by travellers who have been most of their life in Asia, that the real attraction of this kind of play is for those to whom all these things are a novelty. However that may be, Lord Dunsany's appeal is not thus restricted. "If" is the supposition that two average Londoners who are friends, and one of whom makes the chance acquaintance of a garrulous young lady in a suburban train, suddenly go out with her to the Middle East at her request in search of treasure. In this new environment, in spite of a very promising beginning, tragedy befalls them. The woman appears in a very unfavourable light, for the one man is killed on her account, and the other, who had given up everything at home for the adventure, only escapes by a miracle, leaving her to marry the local chieftain. It is all a dream, and our friend of Suburbia wakes up to find himself in his home with his own wife safely beside him. He is very thankful, for, although his dream had meant unlimited sway over an Asiatic population for many years, he had lost his only friend in this dream, and the woman with the hidden treasure had been, not grateful, but extraordinarily the reverse; nor had the tribesmen appreciated in the least the benefits of security and prosperity that his rule had bestowed on them. It is all very satirical and, we trust, overdrawn; but that is inevitable in such a play, where clearly everything must not be taken *au pied de la lettre*. The acting of Mr. Henry Ainley and Miss Madge Titheradge was praise-worthy, and the audience was most appreciative.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

LEADING ARTICLE

THE CULT OF THE ORIENT

By STANLEY RICE

No nation is enslaved which can find the sole expression of its ideals in its art; no nation is without dignity which still has its message for the world. And this is true whether the expression and the message be conceived in terms of architecture, of painting, of music, or of literature. Nor need the expression be in the language of to-day. That which was written centuries ago, that which was painted, composed, or built, is alive at the present time and is wielding its influence, provided that the national spirit remains the same, be it in times of war or of peace, in times of prosperity or adversity. Ruskin has taken as his theme the stirring influence of war upon national expression, yet one cannot help suspecting that he was only viewing one aspect of the question, suitable to his audience of the moment. Tracing history through the Egyptians and Greeks to the Romans and the later Venetians, he comes to the conclusion that art has only flourished during the periods of war, and then only if the warlike nation has also the artistic instinct. Thus, the Egyptians and Greeks delighted to depict the scenes of war, and the latter clothed their young and glorious gods with the weapons of war—Apollo with the bow, Athene with the helmet and shield, Ares the personification of war with the spear. But there are explanations for these things, and art has flourished in the times of inglorious war, in the times of national despair. Painting is not the sole, perhaps not even the most divine, art. Rather would it be true to say that triumphant nations have delighted to celebrate their glory in the recital of their wars, whether it be in painting or in song: it was the proud privilege of bard and painter to enshrine the national tradition in deathless work, in the "Song of Roland," in the Epic of Homer, in the "Nibelungenlied," and painters shared the exaltation of the national spirit. Yet distracted Italy saw the birth of Palestrina, and the long roll of musicians down to Verdi passed through those troubled centuries which preceded the "Risorgimento." Prussia, going in fear of the French Revolution and wavering under the weak-kneed Frederick William III., dragged Germany with her down to the disaster of Jena; yet Goethe lived through the French Wars, Schiller died only a year before Jena, Heine was a devout worshipper at Napoleon's shrine, and Beethoven composed his symphonies all but the Ninth in the dark years that preceded the War of

Liberation. Nor was Ruskin speaking solely of painting and architecture, for he says :

"When I tell you that war is the foundation of *all the arts*, I mean, also, that it is the foundation of all the high virtues and faculties of men."

There is, then, truth in what he has said, but it is only a partial truth, and it applies more nearly, perhaps, to painting than to any other art. Yet the generalization which he has adopted need mean—and probably does not mean—more than that a warlike nation at the height of its triumphs, which also is possessed of the artistic temperament, will produce on the whole better art, and in more abundance than the same nation at peace or enervated by long years of luxury. The sun of Greek art had risen when Persia was overthrown, but it might have set prematurely if Persia had been victorious. The splendour of the Elizabethan age blazed upon an England whose military spirit was weak on land, and whose exploits at sea were but the magnificent adventures of a few great-hearted men. Can it be said with any truth that Spenser and Shakespeare drew their inspiration from the glory of the Armada?

The great epics of India were conceived in that age of chivalry when the warrior spirit was the most highly prized virtue of a man—the spirit which the Greeks extolled in Hector and Achilles, the Germans in Siegfried, the English in Lancelot, and the French in Roland. Hear, for a brief moment, Roland's apostrophe to his sword as the type of all that is chivalrous in all ages and all countries :

"Vast indeed
The lands I gained with thee, my Durandal,
For Charlemagne, my master ; very sore
I sorrow for my sword ; far rather die
Than that should ever fall into the hands
Of heathen !"

Yet in spite of the prowess of the archer Arjuna, of the doughty deeds of Bhima the strong, of the exploits of Rama, and the valour of wise Bhishma, the message which India has to give to the world is not that of strong men, but of pure women. After many centuries of winter sleep, such as the trees know, signs of a new spring are dawning in the East. The genius of one man has compelled the attention of the West. Sweden has crowned him with the laurels of a continent's praise, and England has honoured him with the flattery of imitation. Publishers will tell you that the proper medium for Oriental writing is the *vers libre*, not because it is of necessity more suited to the subject than the more recognized cadences of our noble English, but because, when Tagore translated his Bengali verse, he was compelled, as it were, to use the medium of the *vers libre*, or to write in simple prose. And with the sun of Tagore other lesser lights are shining upon Europe from an Oriental sky, and the light is permeating and influencing European art.

We have said that the message of India is that of pure women, and there is no more noble example in all literature than Savitri. That her name is not already a household word in educated homes, enshrined with that of Alcestis and Antigone, with Penelope and Polyxena and Makaria,

is due to the Renaissance of the Middle Ages, to the ascendancy of Greek and the eclipse of Sanskrit. She did not, it is true, actually give her life, as did Alcestis, to save her husband; perhaps she did more. For she married him with the full knowledge that he must die within a year; she accepted the decree, and set her woman's wit to work to defeat it. She

"Poured oblations to the god of fire
If haply she might have her sole desire
And win her husband's life."

And when all would not do, and she was face to face with Death, who had come in person to execute his own decree, she did not flinch. Again and again the god warns her that she cannot go with him. She is not to be persuaded:

"'Alack! my lord' (she says), 'thou wilt not say me nay;
I think not of my sorrow, only this—
That to remain with him is all my bliss.'"

If she cannot release him, she will at least die with him; life without him is nothing to her. Death is not proof against such constancy; the woman's wit has prevailed. The man's way was different:

"Among the dead
I lay, and sprang and gripped him as he fled."

Thus, as everyone knows, was Alcestis rescued by main force.

Small wonder that Indians, and especially Indian women, adore the name of Savitri, perhaps even above that of Sakuntalā, whom Goethe apostrophized in the well-known lines. The wonder, indeed, is that hitherto these Sanskrit heroines have not appealed to European artists, and that such a story as Savitri's has been neglected by poet, painter, and musician alike. We ought, perhaps, to remember that one hundred and fifty years ago the very existence of the Sanskrit drama was unknown in Europe. For five centuries no one had ever heard of the name of Kalidāsa, and even now the subject is almost more for the criticism of the scholar than for the appreciation of the artist. But the times are changing. There is an awakening interest, not only in the legends of India, but in the poetry of China and Japan also. It must have been clear, had we given the matter a thought, that nations which could express themselves in exquisite design, in delicate traceries and gossamer fabrics, in rare porcelain, or in carved ivory, could not have failed to produce literature of similar quality. And yet we did not suspect it.

Thus it is that we may rejoice to find such a work as Holst's little opera "Savitri," not merely on account of its artistic merit, but because it is a sign of Oriental influence upon our art. Not that we have any wish to turn the artistic workshops of Europe into museums of the East. But art does not belong to Europe alone; like science, it is a world possession. To ignore Oriental art is to acknowledge the existence of undiscovered lands; to refuse to learn what the East has to teach betokens a spiritual pride, and a contemptible ignorance comparable only to ecclesiastical bigotry. That Holst has fully succeeded in his attempt is open to doubt: there seems to

have been no necessity to degrade the prince into a mere woodcutter and to turn Savitri into a peasant woman. Death, moreover, is too easily persuaded; the Indian poem is more artistic, for Death there gives way very gradually, granting this gift and that, but steadfastly withholding the one on which Savitri's heart is set. In the opera it comes upon you as rather a shock that Death, who has just sternly rejected the prayer to restore the prince, should suddenly relent for no very obvious reason,

"And vowing he would ne'er consent, consented!"

The music, however, which is the main consideration, is excellent. Here and there a bit of Scandinavia will show through the artist's Oriental cloak, and yet, without slavishly imitating the Indian modes, he has succeeded in being Eastern. The orchestra throughout is thin, so thin that one can hardly call it an orchestra: unaccompanied declamation occurs frequently, and the atmosphere is cleverly maintained by the use of unseen voices, singing without support off the stage. The composer has apparently recognized the truth that a European musician cannot copy Indian music; he can only seek to reproduce the Oriental in terms of Europe.

Nor is "Savitri" the only sign. It is perhaps significant, not of itself alone, but taken in conjunction with other things, that the most astounding success of the London stage was based upon a tale from the "Arabian Nights," served up in a Chinese dress. It is true that the sceptical might point to "The Mikado," which without being in the least Japanese either in sentiment or atmosphere was at least laid in Japanese surroundings. It is true, too, that the "Arabian Nights" are not the exclusive possession of the East. Like the "Rubaiyat," they have become the property of the world. Let us admit that in any case a musical comedy which happens to have an Eastern theme is no good example. "Madama Butterfly" stands on a different footing. Though it breathes Puccini in every note, it yet has something of the Oriental about it, not merely in the poignancy and pathos of it, but in a certain resignation to the inevitable, and in that quiet acceptance of sorrow which leads to a death unsought for but embraced as the only way of escape. In Delibes' "Lakmé" we have yet another example of the Oriental theme to which the eyes of Europe are turning, slowly it may be, and, as it were, with but a dim perception of the meaning and purpose of the East.

Music, then, has, one might say, led the way towards admitting the cult of the Orient. She, the most glorious goddess of the artistic hierarchy, has begun to open up for us lands of which our fathers never dreamed, and sparkling seas whereon they never sailed. Nor need we be content with names alone. We look upon the Russians as half Asiatic, and the taste of the cultured public has of late inclined towards Russian dance and Russian music, groping, as it were, after the Oriental, not through Tchaikowsky, who is half German in sentiment and is always looking westward, nor even through Glinka, who belongs to a past age, but through the flaming nationalism of Moussorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakoff and the ultra-modernity of Scriabin and Stravinsky. Debussy, with his whole tone scale reminiscent of the Greeks, whose interpreters to us are the Indians, has set the

fashion of the new French school. In all these nationalism is not lost, and yet the influence of the Orient is discernible.

This, let us hope, is the heritage of the twentieth century. When we wish to commemorate the sons of India who shed their lives to prevent the world from falling under German domination, we no longer design monuments of the Victorian type. We do not even seek, as not so long ago we should have sought, to express our admiration in symbolic architecture. Out upon the lonely downs we have erected a simple memorial, designed in the Asiatic style, severely restrained, as the true Asiatic art ought to be, in spite of the flamboyance of some Hindu temples. We have seen some of the masterpieces of the Hindu theatre upon an English stage, adapted by loving hands to an English audience, and presented to us in true Oriental colour.

But the end is not yet: we have still far to travel before we reach the goal. And that goal is not the absorption of Asiatic art into our own, thereby, perhaps, only spoiling what is good and effacing what is characteristic. For too long we have looked upon Europe as the only part of the world which mattered. We have been inclined to think that she was the sole repository of the higher types of art, even if we allowed to China her porcelain, to Japan her delicate painting, to India her rare and beautiful fabrics. Now we are beginning to recognize that even Europe has her limitations; our eyes are opening upon other scenes, and if as yet they are vouchsafed only to those whose vision is the clearest, may we not hope that with time and education the art of Asia will be more surely recognized? This is our goal: the fuller recognition that if we leave out Asia—and perhaps Africa, too, awaits the explorer—we leave a gap in the complete picture of the world's art.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

- (1) *BENGAL IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.* (2) *INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.* By J. N. Das Gupta, M.A. (Oxon). (Calcutta: *University Press.*)

(Reviewed by H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.)

These volumes contain a series of lectures delivered during a two years' tenure of the University Readership in History at Calcutta. In the first a study is attempted of the social and economic conditions of Bengal in the sixteenth century as illustrated by contemporary vernacular literature. Mr. Das Gupta has chosen Chaitanya, Haridas, and Mukundram. The first-named (1486-1533) is worshipped to-day by the Vaishnavs of Bengal and Orissa, and, says Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen in his "History of Bengali Literature," whether he be an incarnation or not, he was "a god-sent man

vonchsafed to Bengal in order to raise her out of the stupor of ignorance in which she had sunk for ages." Haridas, who died in 1534, was originally a Mahomedan who attained great celebrity in the Vaishnava community by his staunch devotion to Chaitanya. Mukundram wrote his famous poem "Chandi Kavya" in 1589, when Rajah Man Singh of Amber was ruling Bengal on behalf of Akbar. He has been called by Professor Cowell the "Crabbe of Bengal," for the Bengali home of the sixteenth century is closely mirrored in his pages. Copious quotations are given by Mr. Das Gupta in English from the works of each, and the picture thereby afforded is the more valuable because it will be sought in vain in the treatises of the Persian Court historians.

In the other volume, authorities of an entirely different character are laid under contribution. Mr. Das Gupta traces the beginnings of the East India Company, and draws largely upon the descriptions of Mughal India left to us by Fryer, Fitch, Hawkins, Hedges, and Sireynsham Master. Khafi Khan's account of his visit to Bombay in the reign of Aurangzeb is printed as an appendix, and may profitably be compared with the sketches of factory life in Surat and Bengal drawn by English hands.

AN ARABIC HISTORY OF GUJARAT

ZAFAR UL-WALIH BI MUZAFFAR WA ALIH: AN ARABIC HISTORY OF GUJARAT. Edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E. Volume II. (Indian Texts Series.) (John Murray.) 21s. net.

(Reviewed by H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.)

In this, as in the earlier volume, which was published in 1910, the learned Director of the London School of Oriental Studies presents the text of an unique and autograph manuscript discovered by him in the Library of the Calcutta Madrasah. The author, Abdallah Muhammad bin Omar Al-Makki, Al-Asafi, Ulughkhani, was generally known as Hajji-ad-Dabir, that being the name given to him by Muhammad Ulugh Khan, the Abyssinian, a prominent noble and general of Gujarat, whose service he entered as under-secretary or clerk in 1559. Four years earlier he had come to India with his father from Mecca, where he was born in 1540, and had settled at Ahmadabad. The period of his activity synchronizes with the reign of Akbar, who conquered Gujarat in A.D. 1573, and with whom he was on more than one occasion brought into personal contact.

The manuscript is divided into two daftars. The first contains a history of the Muzaffari kings who ruled over Gujarat from A.D. 1396 to A.D. 1572, and the second gives an account of the various other Mussulman dynasties which ruled in Northern India from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. In these two volumes the whole of the first daftar and half the second are printed. The remainder will appear in the third volume, together with a full index and an apparatus criticus; and subsequent volumes will, no doubt, be devoted in due course to a translation which will be eagerly awaited.

Two matters of considerable historical interest are touched upon by Sir

Denison Ross in his Introduction to the present volume. The first relates to the authorship of the *Tarikh-i-Bahadurshahi*, which so many Moslem historians of India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries claim to have consulted. No copy of this work is known to exist, nor is the name of the author quoted by a single Indian writer. Sir Denison Ross has succeeded in identifying this work with one Husam Khan, darogha of the port of Cambay under Sultan Bahadur Shah, who ruled in Gujarat between A.D. 1526 and 1536. From the references made by Hajji-ad-Dahir, it is clear that he continued the narrative from the point at which "the pen of Husam Khan dried up."

The second matter discussed is connected with the chiefs and nobles of foreign origin, whose battles and intrigues almost monopolize the history of the reigns of the last two independent rulers of Gujarat. Prominent among these were the Abyssinians, or Habshis. They were for the most part the prisoners or sons of the prisoners taken during the Muhammadan invasion of Abyssinia by Imam Ahmad "Grañ" in A.D. 1527, and were known by the generic name of Rumikhanis. From the island of Kamaran in the Red Sea, where they were brought up as slaves, they found their way to Gujarat in A.D. 1531 in the army of Mustafa bin Bahram, who arrived under orders from Constantinople to help the Gujarat sovereign against the Portuguese.

Many of these Habshis rose to fame. Hajji-ad-Dahir served under several of them who held high office in Gujarat. Of African descent also was Malik Ambar, minister at Ahmadnagar at the opening of the seventeenth century, who died in 1626, and whose success in arms won from the Mughals the title of "The Hateful." It is even asserted, in a note on p. 361 of Mr. Henry Bruce's recently-published edition of Meadows Taylor's "Story of My Life," that there were short-lived negro kings in Bengal. Be that as it may, it is certain that as late as A.D. 1820 Sidi Ismail, a Habshi from Cambay, distinguished himself in Northern Gujarat as minister to the Bahis of Radhanpur. Finally, the African eunuch nobles of Delhi and Lucknow figured conspicuously in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, and "Bob the Nailer," who did such execution with his gun against the Residency, was a negro.

Two Habshi dynasties survive on the west coast, and are represented by the Nawabs of Janjira and Sachin. Abyssinian rule in Janjira dates from about 1490, and the chiefs of Sachin belong to an older branch of the family which was expelled from Janjira at the close of the eighteenth century. Both Nawabs are descended from the Habshi admirals who controlled the coast of the Southern Konkan first under the kings of Bijapur and then under the Mughals.

Apart from these two chiefs, the modern Habshis occupy a very humble position. They are known as Sidis, a modification of the Arah word Sayyid, and are found in all parts of Gujarat, in Bombay city, and in the State of Janjira itself, which is colloquially spoken of as Habsan (the Abyssinian's land). They talk a broken Hindustani, and among themselves use a kind of debased Swahili. The Bombay and Janjira Sidis supply the P. and O. steamers and the coasting vessels with a portion of their

crews. Those in Gujarat are principally house-servants and beggars, and they live and dress like low-class Muhammadans. Their reputation is not very high, if we may judge from the local proverb, "*Habshi ka bal banka*" ("As crooked as a Habshi's hair"). Nominally Sunnis in faith, their chief object of worship is Baba Ghor, a Habshi saint and great merchant, whose tomb stands on a hill just above the Ratanpur corneelian mines in Western Rajputana. There is much more that might be said about negroes in India; indeed, there is ample material for a monograph. Sir Denison Ross observes with perfect justice that sufficient importance hitherto has not been attached by European scholars, following in the wake of Muhammadan chroniclers, to the part played by the Habshis in Indian history.

THE SECRET OF ASIA: ESSAYS ON THE SPIRIT OF ASIAN CULTURE.
By Professor T. L. Vaswani. (Madras: Ganesh and Co.) R. 1.

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE.)

It is a sad reflection that no Indian writer seems to be able to discuss the culture of Asia without importing invidious comparisons with Europe. The consequence is that the reader is always reminded of a certain kind of racial jealousy, which, in spite of efforts to eliminate it from the mind, will keep obtruding itself. For this attitude of mind Europe is, at least, partly to blame. It is the revolt of Asia against the arrogant assumption that Europe is and always has been the repository of wisdom and the cradle of art. This attitude of mind is happily passing away. It is only the bigotry of ignorance, whether ecclesiastical or lay, which sees only idolatry and superstition in the Hindu religion, only a grotesque *bizarrie* in their art, only fantastic speculation in their philosophy, and only a horrible series of unrelated sounds in their music.

Professor Vaswani tries, as usual, to assert too much, for proof there is hardly any. We are treated for the most part to a rhapsody in which the writer is overwhelmed by his enthusiasm for his subject. We must, however, guard against that very racial prejudice which was deprecated above, whether it be shown for or against; and if we accept with discernment and discount some of the overstated generalities of the book, we shall find much that is true and much that is thoughtful in it. There are those among us who recognize the true greatness of Hindu art, even if we do not subscribe to all that the author claims for it, and even if we cannot admit, without many qualifications, that Europe has either copied or assimilated the East. It is shallow criticism, for example, to call the *vidushaka* of Hindu drama "the forerunner of the fool and clown" merely because the rôle is much the same.

The truth is—and the discovery causes a certain disillusionment—that the book has an underlying political purpose. From an advertisement on the cover it appears that the author favours "non-co-operation," and his excursions into the realm of art and literature are only meant to subserve the end of Gandhi's creed. The discovery detracts from the merit of the work; one hoped for a dispassionate criticism and found a passionate

special pleading. Yet in its appeal to the younger generation to seek those things that are above, and in its attempt to glorify all that is good in Hindn culture, there is a point of view which is, at least, worth investigating; for, after all, it is well that the Hindn should develop on national lines, and that he should seek to cure what is wrong within before addressing himself to mere externals. That is the very core of Gandhi's creed, admirable in itself, and only vulgarized by its application to political purposes.

TO THE NATION. By Paul Richard. A new translation by Aurobindo Ghosi, with an Introduction by Rabindranath Tagore. (Madras: Ganesh and Co.) Second Edition, 1921. R. 1, A. 8.

(Reviewed by J. B. PENNINGTON, I.C.S., RETD.)

As a note on the cover observes, the author of this little book "lays bare the causes of war in all ages, and enunciates the doctrine that lasting peace can only be found in the free dedication by all nations of all their powers to the service of humanity." It is well worthy of the most careful perusal, and I have no wish to criticize it in detail, but, with reference to the remarks on p. 23, I will just observe that India is "a congeries" of nations, and that it is only by the spread of the English language and English ideas of liberty that educated Indians have conceived the idea of its being one nation. The Aryans were themselves foreign conquerors in India and never thoroughly assimilated the south, where the feud between the newcomers, represented by the Brahmins, and the older Dravidians, is almost as strong as ever, and has only been kept under by English law and order. The *Pax Britannica* is still essential to the equal rights and the peaceful development of all the small nations that make up that enormous Empire. Take away the present settled order and you let loose the days of internecine war, as the Moplahs are showing us now.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF TORU DUTT. By Harihar Das. With a Foreword by the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P. Pp. xiv + 364. (Oxford University Press.) 1921. 8vo. 26s. net.

(Reviewed by C. B. OLDMAN.)

Mr. Das has written a book of unusual interest. The name of Toru Dutt conveys little to the average English reader of the present day, and yet the story of this Bengali girl, who, in a brief life of twenty-one years—she was born in 1856 and died in 1877—succeeded in mastering three European languages and produced work of considerable literary merit in two of them, forms one of the most fascinating chapters in the history of the mutual intercourse of East and West.

Toru had, it may be admitted, many advantages. She came of an old and cultured Hindu family, and of a branch that had recently been converted to Christianity. Her father, too, who held various posts of importance under the Government of India, devoted himself wholeheartedly to the encouragement of his daughter's talents. Moreover, in 1869, the

family visited Europe, stopping first in France and then in England, and returning to Calcutta in 1873. The visit was brief; but it inspired the whole family with a love for all things European that never left them. Toru's letters to her English friend, Miss Martin, which form the bulk of Mr. Das's book, are full of wistful recollections of those happy years; and, in her case, while she was living on her memories, she was doing everything by the character of her reading and writing to absorb more and more of the European tradition. She died too soon to show what the final outcome of this development might have been. Of her literary work much, like her unfinished English and completed French novel, shows obvious signs of immaturity—although the latter work won high praise from its French critics for its astonishing mastery of the language.

Her literary reputation really rests on two works, the translations from French poetry, published in 1876 under the title of "A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields," and the collection of "Ancient Legends and Ballads of Hindustan," published in London in 1882 with a highly appreciative Introduction by Mr. Edmund Gosse. Her translations from the French are admirable for their fidelity and vigour, and her annotations display an unexpectedly wide knowledge of French literature. There are, of course, occasional awkwardnesses of metre or idiom, but they are always such as further knowledge would readily have eradicated. Her later book shows a firmer touch, and contains one poem, "Our Casuarina Tree," which has been widely acclaimed as the most remarkable poem ever written by a foreigner in English.

Mr. Das does not criticize these works at any length. The aim of his book is mainly biographical. Toru's letters certainly provide ample material for his purpose. On every page we find reflected an exceptionally gentle and affectionate disposition. At the same time Toru displays a curious but attractive blend of humility and self-confidence. Throughout her life she remained unspoiled by praise, but on occasion she could exhibit an admirable independence of judgment. Her earlier letters show her rather uncertain in her opinions: book after book is commended as being "very interesting," and that is all; but later she develops rapidly and is soon quite ready to dismiss Charlotte Brontë's "Villette" as a failure, or to discuss the relative merits of truth and fiction with Lord Lawrence.

Where she might have ended, had a longer life been granted her, it is impossible to say. It is hard to imagine that she would ever have found a permanent source of inspiration in models drawn from an alien literature, and the work of her later years, largely inspired by her Sanskrit studies, seems to suggest that she might have achieved even greater fame as the interpreter of the infinite riches of her own civilization. But, whatever the solution, it is an interesting problem, and Mr. Das is to be thanked for producing a book which is so stimulating and likely to prove so valuable as a work of reference.

We are given to understand, although Mr. Das does not mention this in his book, that the trustees of the British Museum have accepted a number of Toru's autograph letters and poems.

NEAR EAST

THE INFLUENCE OF ANIMISM ON ISLAM: An Account of Popular Superstition. By Samuel M. Zwemer, F.R.G.S. (*London Central Board of Missions and Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.*) 1920.

(Reviewed by SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E.)

The survivals of paganism in the Christian world have been the subject of many learned and far-reaching investigations by competent scholars, and the whole study of folklore, which has in recent years received rigid scientific treatment, derives a large part of its material from the survivals in Europe of beliefs and practices which have resisted all the efforts of Christian teachers to eradicate them. Abundant materials of the same character are to be found in the Muhammadan world, for the propagandists of Islam were often content with a nominal acceptance of the creed on the part of their converts, and often refrained from interference with pre-existent usages and superstitions.

In the present volume, which contains the A. C. Thompson Lectures for 1918-1919, delivered on the Hartford Seminary Foundation and at Princeton Theological Seminary, Dr. Zwemer has collected a large body of facts from the writings of Dutch, English, French, and German scholars, and those he has derived from Muhammadan sources will be new to most English readers. He has given abundant illustrations of the admixture of Animism in the popular beliefs and observances of various Muhammadan peoples, and has dealt at length with the subjects of amulets, charms, and sorcery.

Varied as the material is that Dr. Zwemer has collected, he has only touched the fringe of a vast subject, and there are certain sources of information to which he does not appear to have applied at all. Among these are the works of orthodox zealots, who from time to time have inveighed against the superstitious practices of their Muslim co-religionists, and thus incidentally provided much information about the superstitious practices. He has, moreover, hardly made any use of the great collections of material to be found in the census reports, gazetteers, and other official publications of the Government of India. But despite the limits of space which were imposed upon him by his having to compress his material within a course of lectures, Dr. Zwemer's book will be of interest not only to students of Islam, but to the folklorists and students of magic and demonology, and to most of them the information which Dr. Zwemer gives in his chapters on the Jinn and the Aqiqa sacrifice will be new.

STUDIA SEMITICA ET ORIENTALIA. By Seven Members of Glasgow University Oriental Society. (Glasgow.) 1920.

(Reviewed by SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E.)

Valuable as are those collections of essays contributed by the pupils of some distinguished scholar, and collected together in one volume dedicated to him, there is sometimes a danger that they may remain unknown, except within the circle of those immediately concerned and of their

colleagues in the University with which the Professor so honoured happens to be connected.

The volume under review is made up of essays written by former pupils of Professor James Robertson, who was for thirty years (up to 1907) Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in the Glasgow University, and recently celebrated his eightieth birthday. The majority of the contributions to this volume are connected with Hebrew studies—e.g., "The Synchronisms of the Book of Kings"; "The Site of Capernaum"; "Jewish Everyday Life, as reflected in Hebrew Synonyms"; "The Pre-Abrahamic Stories of Genesis, as Part of the Wisdom Literature." The other two have reference to the Muhammadan world, of which Professor Robertson gained intimate knowledge during his twelve years' residence in Constantinople and Beyrout. They are: "A Translation of an Arabic MS. on Calligraphy," by Dr. Edward Robertson, Lecturer on Arabic in the University of Edinburgh, and "Some Specimens of Moslem Charms," by Professor W. B. Stevenson, who is the successor of Professor Robertson in the Chair of Hebrew and Semitic Languages.

The valuable material collected together in this volume needs only to be better known in order to win the appreciation of Orientalists.

GEORGIA AND THE CAUCASUS

1. DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS REGARDING THE FOREIGN POLICY OF TRANS-CAUCASIA AND GEORGIA. (Published by the *Georgian Foreign Office, Tiflis*, 1919. In Russian.)
2. LES PEUPLES DE LA TRANSCAUCASIE PENDANT LA GUERRE ET DEVANT LA PAIX. P. G. la Chesuais. 3 cartes. (Paris: *Bossard*.) 1921.
3. LA DEMOCRATIE GÉORGIENNE. Wladimir Woytinsky. Préface de M. E. Vandervelde. (Paris: *Alcan*.) 1921.
4. LA RÉSURRECTION GÉORGIENNE. Paul Gentizot, du *Temps*. (Paris: *E. Leroux*.) 1921.

(Reviewed by W. E. D. ALLEN, F.R.G.S.)

Reliable information for the history of Trans-Caucasia since the outbreak of the Russian Revolution is almost unobtainable, and the student of events in those regions is utterly confused by the opposing statements of writers violently partisan of one nationality or of one body of political opinion. The "Documents and Materials" published by the Georgian Foreign Office affords some opportunity of collating facts for the period October, 1917, to January, 1919, and Mr. P. N. Milliukov has supplied, in the lately defunct *New Russia*, an excellent critical essay on "The Balkanization of Trans-Caucasia," which is based on these materials. The "Documents and Materials" is divided into sections, which treat respectively of the formation of the Trans-Caucasian Commissariat (October to December, 1917), the negotiations with Turkey at Trebizond and Batum (January to June, 1918), the fighting near Kars, and the later relations of the Georgian Government with the Germans, with General

Denikin, and with Armenia and Azerbaijan. There are, however, certain "lacunæ" which suggest that the correspondence has, at least in parts, been carefully edited. For instance, the documents published with regard to the differences between Georgia and Armenia on the subject of the disputed zones of Akhalkalaki and Borchalu (Nos. 211 to 259) give a very partial version of a question in which both disputants failed to reconcile their chauvinistic ambitions with their internationalist professions.

The other three volumes under review are examples of a partisanship in historical journalism which is to be condemned the more because the writers are obviously taking advantage of the knowledge that their readers cannot have the requisite information to enable them to judge of the truth of statements made. Mr. La Chesnais has written a book which is a comparatively accurate and impartial account of political events since the Revolution. He gives some interesting new facts about the attitude of the mountain tribes towards the Bolsheviks and General Denikin. But a really excellent and informative little book is marred by an obvious bias against all things Georgian. On the other hand, M. Gentizot appears to have succumbed completely to the proverbial hospitality and charm of the Georgians. He is "plus Georgien que les Georgiens," and his book, though pleasantly written, has little value. He should correct one or two obvious misprints: page 102, the last King of Georgia should be George XIII., not George III.; page 140, "Mongolie" should be "Mingrelie." M. Woytinsky has written the best book on Georgia which has appeared since the Revolution. His account of the rise of the Georgian Social Democratic Party is valuable, and his historical chapters, based, apparently, on "Documents and Materials," are interesting, though sometimes partial. He has added an account of economic and social reforms in Georgia, and his book contains a map and some attractive photographs. It is to be hoped that the publicists of small countries, and their English and French coadjutors, will eventually realize that partisan literature is too often tedious, and that their object in producing a book should be to interest the foreign reader by moderate and judicious statement, rather than to confuse him with obscure revindications.

SUVOROF. By W. Lyon Blease. With an Introduction by Major-General Sir C. E. Caldwell, K.C.B. (*Constable*.)

(Reviewed by F. P. MARCHANT.)

The author, who was on the staff of a Petrograd hospital and afterwards on the Rumanian front, wrote this study of the famous General under difficulties. His library was lost through the necessity of distant travel, but, thanks to the public librarian of Odessa, he was enabled to consult various authorities. Finally, his rough manuscript was reduced to order by Mrs. Blease with the aid of a Japanese typewriter.

In the Introduction Major-General Caldwell discusses Suworof's conduct at the capture of Ismail, which has been open to question, and shows that it was in accordance with the general practice, as Wellington might have destroyed the garrisons of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and Suchet slew

a large number of the Tarragona garrison. Suvorof's experience of warfare was gained in many different fields, against such dissimilar foes as Kosciusko and his Poles, Osman Pasha and his Turks, irregular Tartar warriors of the steppe, and the skilled armies of Macdonald and Joubert. Suvorof's passage of the Alpa after the defeat of Korsakof ranks with those of Hannibal long before and of Napoleon afterwards. Without the Suvorof tradition, would Diebitch, Paskievitch, Tcherniaief, and Gurko have achieved their triumphs?

Alexander, son of Vassily Suvorof, an administrative official of the military department, entered into military studies at an early age. His father viewed this with reluctance, but the well-known negro Hannibal advised that the boy should be allowed to follow his inclinations. When he began his career as a private, Alexander knew far more about ancient and modern campaigns, and the exploits of Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Condé, Turenne, and Vauban than most of his superiors. His first practical experience came in the Seven Years' War, where he saw the secret of the success of Frederick the Great's system, with its accompanying weakness. Suvorof's relations with his men were paternal, and he seemed to revel in their hardships, which he shared. He had a fondness for acknowledgment and recognitions, for which he would write in almost cringing terms. Thus he flattered Potemkin at an extravagant rate. Much has been made of Suvorof's contempt of convention and his buffoonery, and this side of his character is often illustrated. The author shows that it was his eccentricities which were the source of his influence over his devoted soldiers. His conversation was adorned with classical allusions, not always intelligible, and a pious ejaculation was not far off. A "can't teller" was his aversion. The advice to his godson shows that Suvorof could rise to high ideals as a soldier and a man.

The military virtues are: Bravery in the soldier, courage in the officer, valour in the General, but guided by the principles of order and discipline, dominated by vigilance and foresight. Be frank with your friends, temperate in your requirements, and disinterested in conduct; bear an ardent zeal for the service of your Sovereign; love true fame; distinguish ambition from pride and vainglory; learn early to forgive the faults of others, and never forgive your own; drill your soldiers well, and give them a pattern in yourself.

The picture of the military genius which Mr. Blease has drawn justifies the conclusion, "whatever his faults, it is impossible to withhold admiration from him." We even come to regard the unconventional hero with a measure of affection.

There is a portrait of Suvorof, who was supposed to have resembled Nelson, a point on which both touched in mutually flattering epistles. A number of maps and plans add to the military interest of a careful and discriminating work.

THE BOOK OF JOB: ITS ORIGIN, GROWTH, AND INTERPRETATION, TOGETHER WITH A NEW TRANSLATION BASED ON A REVISED TEXT. By Morris Jastrow, PH.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. (*J. Lippincott and Co., Philadelphia and London.*) 1920. 18s. net.

(Reviewed by THE DEAN OF WINCHESTER.)

The Book of Job is one of the outstanding works in the literature of all time; and for that reason any student of ancient and modern poetry may be allowed to have an opinion about its structure, its details, and its meaning. But it has taken so great a place in the world's treasure-house that it is often forgotten that it belongs through and through to Israel. One who is neither a Jew nor a Hebraist must feel that he can only judge it, and inadequately, from outside. A brief notice such as this should, therefore, only call attention to the special points of a new study, and leave it to qualified scholars to estimate the value of the author's conclusions.

Dr. Jastrow's view is that Job as we have it is the result of many interpolations in one or two original documents. As to the earliest material he says:

"The unknown thinker to whom we owe the first draft of the Book of Job is one of the great questioners of antiquity, and those who followed in his wake in enlarging the book often add two interrogation marks to statements that were accepted as a matter of course by the age in which they lived."

On a folk-story has been superimposed a sceptical discussion. Why should a just man suffer? Is there a Divine justice? But if the result is a vindication of God, that is only, Dr. Jastrow would say, because the book has gone through so many recensions, which have entirely changed the original object. There are really, as regards the title character, two Jobs: and there are two conceptions of God: there are two conclusions in the story, and these are independent of each other.

This view is developed in detail; and the question is then asked, in regard to the composite book, as its last recension left it: Is it only to be regarded as a literary masterpiece, or has it a moral meaning, a spiritual message for to-day? Holding as he does that the consolations which many have obtained from it in the past "have generally been based on passages that have been misunderstood and in some cases wilfully distorted by an uncritical tradition," Dr. Jastrow can only conclude that "the final word" in the book is "that faith in the presence of unfathomable mystery is the only secure foundation on which we can build our lives." Job then, if we understand Dr. Jastrow rightly, is not to be regarded as a bulwark of Christianity or Judaism; hardly can its support be claimed even for a simple Theism. It is perhaps the final word of a reverent agnosticism.

This for the general reader is the main interest of the book. Those who know his great work, "*Die Religion Babylonien und Assyrien*," or his lesser books on the same subject, and on Ecclesiastes, in English, will be prepared for the vigour and strenuousness of this study. But the details of textual criticism, which occupy the second part of the present work, show

him in somewhat of a new light. We might almost say—so drastic are his alterations—that he has rewritten the Book of Job. Certainly there are very few of the familiar passages which he has allowed to stand. This a reviewer must leave to the critical expert to discuss.

THE ORIENT UNDER THE CALIPHS. (Translated from Von Kremer's "Culturgeschichte des Orients.") By Khuda Baksh, M.A., B.C.L., Barrister-at-Law, Fellow of the Calcutta University. (Published by the Calcutta University) 1920.

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

This book is prefaced by some general remarks by Mr. Khuda Baksh, who explains that he was led to undertake the translation by the wish of his father, now deceased. Mr. Khuda Baksh's English style is clear and good; his enthusiasm for the subject of Von Kremer's work is ardent. He considers Von Kremer "the most trustworthy interpreter of the social, political, economic, literary, and legal problems of Islam." He grieves over the gradual dissolution of Muslim empire, and recalls to memory its morning and early development. He does not think that Islam can politically "be ever again what it has been in the past," but he finds comfort in the reflection that, sinking their differences, and casting in their lot with the other peoples of India, Muslims may make that country "in the near or remote future a land of freedom and of just renown."

Von Kremer deals first with the rise of the Khilafat and its "conversion into sovereignty." Then he proceeds to describe ancient town life in Mecca and Medina; the political institutions of patriarchal times; Damascus and the Court of the Omayyads; the development of Government; the organism of the Muslim State; the military system of the Khilafat; the origin and development of Muslim law. Perhaps the most interesting chapter is "Damascus and the Court of the Omayyads," and not the least interesting passage therein is the description of the still remaining gate of the old Byzantine Church of Damascus, with its inscription, left untouched by the Arabs, "Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting kingdom, and Thy rule for all generations." On the capture of the town by the Arabs this famous church was divided, one half continuing as before devoted to Christian worship, the other half being converted into a mosque.

Von Kremer is well acquainted with Damascus, and describes the capital of the Omayyads, whose very graves were not spared by the Abbasids, who supplanted them. He describes the development of the power of the dynasty, founded by the man who was appointed governor of Damascus, when he was "without a farthing in his pocket," who after ruling all Syria, ascended to the seat of the Prophet. Von Kremer's chapters on the Muslim Arab system of government and military administration are vivid and interesting. "The Arab army," he writes, "must have created a great and powerful impression as they passed in innumerable columns through the hostile country. Troops of light cavalry in brilliant shirts of mail and shining steel helmets, with long lances, the

heads of which were adorned with black ostrich feathers, formed the vanguard. The archers, of tawny colour, strong and half-naked, accompanied them running and almost kept pace with their horses. The two wings were secured against sudden attack by flying corps. In the centre marched the infantry, armed with javelin, sword, and shield. In their midst thousands of camels carrying provisions, tents, and arms, marched onwards whilst ambulances and sedan-chairs for the sick and wounded, and war machines, packed upon camels, mules, and pack-horses, followed in the rear. If the Commander of the Faithful himself or one of the princes happened to be in the army, the splendour of the scene was heightened by the divers gold-embroidered costumes of the royal bodyguard."

As is pointed out by Van Kremer, in the early years of the Khilafat the Arab army consisted exclusively of "full-blooded Arabs," grouped according to tribes, who took part in the wars for a substantial sum and an alluring prospect of rich booty. The strength of the Government rested solely upon these tribes. The Arabs' passion for gold had no limits. A foreign element was introduced into the State and the army as the Khalifat began to recruit from races converted to Islam; and when the Omayyads were superseded by the Abbasids, Arab predominance declined.

The last chapter of the book describes the origin and development of Muhammadan law, which derived its main source from the ordinances of the Quran and the Sunna, or collected traditions.

But our readers who are interested in the early days of the Khilafat should read this book for themselves. It requires an index, and might well have contained a clear account of the original difference of doctrine and subsequent quarrel between Shias and Sunnis, which is only vaguely touched on. But this defect is no fault of Mr. Khuda Baksh, who has taken great pains and written a most readable translation.

FRENCH BOOKS

MÉLANGES "AFRICAINS ET ORIENTAUX." By René Basset. (*Maison-neuve*, Paris.) 390 pp.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, LITT.D.)

In these "Mélanges" M. Basset has collected and republished various Opuscula, to the number of twenty-six, which have appeared in learned journals and elsewhere during a period of some twenty-five years, from 1882 to 1907. The high reputation of the author, the value of the matter, and the beauty of paper and typography, should secure this work a good circulation. On the other hand, few readers will be at home in all the subjects covered, and the taste exhibited in reprinting some of the articles seems doubtful; unfavourable reviews of books, with corrections of the errors which they contain, ought not to be claimants for immortality.

The longest paper included in the collection is a record of travel ("Notes de Voyage"), undertaken between the years 1882 and 1885, in Algeria and Tunisia, chiefly, it would seem, in search of materials for the

study of Berber dialects. Attention is called in the notes to some of the changes which have taken place in the country in the period that has elapsed since these notes were first published. It would appear that Arabic has been steadily onsting these vernaculars. The writer's account of his experiences is interesting, and at times humorous.

The first Opusculum, which occupies twenty-five pages, contains a brief history of Algeria, epitomizing the material which is given in detail in M. E. Mercier's "*Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale*." The second, entitled "*La Littérature populaire Berbère et Arabe dans le Maghreb et chez les Maures d'Espagne*," contains matter which is far less familiar, and gives evidence of profound research. The lays, of which examples are given in translation, are similar in character to those which have been collected in other countries. A point of some importance which the writer emphasizes is the *shortness of the popular memory*: the oldest of the war ballads are no earlier than the French conquest of Algeria; the latest deal with contemporary events. Had the ballads which refer to that conquest not been collected half a century ago, they would doubtless be lost, or nearly so, by this time. This is not surprising, as new wars naturally dull the interest in those which preceded them, and the number of poets who have produced works in this style capable of attracting a series of generations is small.

In reviews of the treatises on Islam by MM. de Castries and Carra de Vaux, M. Basset gives his own opinions on the subject, which, owing to his great knowledge of Islamic literature and his long experience of and contact with Mohammedan peoples, ought to carry great weight. He criticizes the treatise on Avicenna by the latter of these writers favourably, but finds serious fault with his work on Ghazali. His review of Mr. Weir's "*Shaikhs of Morocco*" is appreciative. Other reviews deal with Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, and Persian literature, and with folklore. He bestows high praise on M. Joret's "*La Rose dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Âge*," which he commends as a model to those engaged in similar researches.

IS ANCIENT EGYPTIAN A SEMITIC LANGUAGE?

L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA LANGUE ÉGYPTIENNE ET LES LANGUES SÉMITIQUES.

By Edouard Naville, Professeur Honoraire de l'Université de Genève. (Paris: Paul Geuthner.) 1920.

This question has long ago been satisfactorily settled according to the majority of Egyptologists to-day, whose answer is most definitely "yes"; but Professor Naville in his latest work replies with an equally uncompromising "no." The veteran Professor has adhered to the same opinion throughout his life, an opinion which was generally accepted until Professors Erman and Sethe and their pupils, who compose what is known as the "Berlin school," stated their case. Erman holds that the Egyptian language in its primitive state was Semitic, and that its birthplace was the Arabian peninsula. Naville, on the contrary, considers it of African origin, and of a structure fundamentally different from that of all

the Semitic tongues. He holds that Egyptian was originally pictographic purely, and that in process of time, on the rebus principle, the pictures acquired phonetic values, and stood for sounds rather than actual pictures of the idea to be conveyed. Since all sounds are dependent upon vowels, he argues that to write phonetic signs without vowels is a contradiction in terms. If the original pictures were for the eye to see, the phonetic signs are for the ear to hear, and as in the drawing of a man the outward form is represented for the eye to see, the Egyptians drew a man which they could see, and not his skeleton which they could not see. Consequently, if the figure of a man acquired a phonetic value, it would be written with a vowel sound which the ear could hear, and not with its consonantal skeleton which the ear could not hear, since words written without vowels are unpronounceable. He accounts for the different ways in which the Coptic texts render the same ancient sign by the existence of many local dialects.

Professor Naville, having discussed the origin of ancient Egyptian, passes to that of Canaanite, and argues that Semitic languages passed through analogous stages of development. Having discussed the order of signs and the function of determinatives, he proceeds to the consideration of grammar. A sketch of the views of Champollion, Birch, de Rouge, Brugsch, Le Page Renouf, and others, is followed by an account of the system propounded by Erman and Sethe, to each of whom he devotes considerable attention; but the summing-up is to the effect that the Berlin school has worked out an elaborate theory on false premises—namely, that Egyptian writing is figurative, the signs themselves having a value, whilst the Semitic alphabet has only a conventional value.

The remainder of the work treats of Demotic, Aramean, Coptic, and Hebrew, and, whether we agree with the author or not, he has stated his case clearly and concisely, and has ably championed a cause which is by almost all Egyptologists of to-day regarded as a lost cause, the only notable adherents to Professor Naville's view at the present time being M. Golenischeff and Sir Ernest Budge.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

FAR EAST

THE TRADE AND ADMINISTRATION OF CHINA (Third Revised Edition).

By H. B. MORSE, LL.D. With illustrations, maps, and diagrams.
(Longmans.)

(Reviewed by Professor E. H. PARKER.)

The first edition (price 7s. 6d.) of this careful and informative work was reviewed in the July number of the *ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* for 1908, and the second edition in the July number of the same journal for 1913. The "march of civilization" has had the effect of raising the price of the third edition to 25s., but it is well worth the money to those whose economical interests lie in Far-Eastern matters. The chief additions and changes are as follow: To the third chapter on Republican Government have been added twenty pages dealing as far as possible with the confused

political situation up to the end of 1918: it may be mentioned that (p. 91) the title *Hsün-an-shih* for "Civil Governor" had already become obsolete in July, 1916, when it was changed to *Shêng-chang*; here, however, Mr. Morse, always careful himself, has been misled by an error in the China Year Book (p. 307) for 1919. To the fourth chapter upon Revenue has been added (p. 113) a short but interesting paragraph upon the Maritime and the Native Customs Revenues for 1916; also, further, two pages (132, 133) upon the 1916 Budget. To the quinquennial comparative trade statistics (p. 294), which were brought up in the second edition to 1911, have now been added figures for 1918; the same thing, "only more so," may be said of the opium statistics (pp. 383-4), which show an advance in value from £106 per picul (133½ lbs.) in 1906 to £5,280 in 1918. He does not mention the alleged Shanghai "opium deal" of President Fêng Kwôh-chang, in alluding to the theatrical but well-meant destruction of the drug at the same place by his successor President Sü Shî-ch'ang; nor, of course, does he quite adequately illustrate the scandalous connivance—ever since, and particularly at this moment—by numerous "Tuchuns" at the wholesale recultivation of the poppy in most of those provinces where the Central Government's general wishes are ignored. At the end of Chapter XII., on the Customs Inspectorate, there is a short addendum explaining the significant change made since Sir F. Aglen's succession, under which the revenue is now not only accounted for, but also received by the Inspectorate's offices; but, even with this precaution against Tuchun "squeezing," the rebellious South for a year or two managed to get the Powers' consent to their receiving a percentage of the surplus "released" to the recognized North after the service of the loan debts, and recently (though, of course, Mr. Morse could not possibly mention it) the Canton Republican "Directors" threatened to abolish duties altogether and throw their ports open to free trade unless this percentage be continued, they on their part having, so far, pettishly refused to join the China Unification movement engineered by the Peking President; indeed, the very latest news is that Sun Yat-sen has been proclaimed President of China in the South. Two new pages of late statistics are added to the thirteenth chapter, on the Post Office. Chapter XIV., on Railways, is entirely new (to this book and, of course, to the two earlier editions), being a judiciously abbreviated reproduction of the chapter on Railways in Mr. Morse's other *magnum opus*, "The International Relations of the Chinese Empire," Part III., 1894-1911, Chapter IV. Appendix G is also new, being a list of railways, complete, building, or contracted for.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"THE History of the Mahrattas," by James Cuninghame Grant-Duff (Milford); "The Gospel of Freedom," by T. L. Vaswani (Ganesh); "Jivatman in the Brahma-Sutras," by Abhayakumar Guha (University of Calcutta); "The Karma-Mimamsa," by A. Berriedale Keith; "Wisdom of the East" Series (Milford); "The Angami Nagras," by J. H. Hutton (Macmillan); "To the Nations," by Paul Richard (Ganesh); "Bharata

Shakti," by Sir John Woodroffe (Ganesh); "Self-Government and the Bread Problem," by J. W. Petavel (University of Calcutta); "Indian Logic and Atomism," by A. Berriedale Keith (Oxford: Clarendon Press); "A Diplomat of Japan," by the Right Hon. Sir Ernest Satow (Seeley Service); "An Introduction to the History of Japan," by Katsuro Hara (Putnam); "Travels of a Consular Officer in North-West China," by Eric Teichman (Cambridge University Press); "A History of Persia," by Sir Percy Sykes, Vols. I. and II. (Macmillan); "The Secret of Asia," by Professor T. L. Vaswani (Ganesh); "Essays on the Latin Orient," by William Miller (Cambridge University Press); "The Origin and Evolution of the Human Race," by Albert Churchward (Allen and Unwin); "An Empire View of the Empire Tangle," by Edward O. Mousley (P. S. King); "Mélanges : D'Histoire et de Géographie Orientales," by Henri Cordier.

ARTICLES TO NOTE

Mr. J. B. Pennington, in an article contributed to the *Wednesday Review* recently, entitled, "India and the Cult of Swaraj," writes as follows:

"As to 'Home Rule' in the East—China is a self-governing country, but it did not escape the loss of forty or fifty millions by famine in the first half of the last century and some ten millions in 1875, whilst in 1900 three-tenths of the population of Shansi are said to have died of starvation; and so it has gone on up to date, when famine is raging over 13,000 square miles, and 15,000,000 people are on the verge of death by starvation, even if they have not died already. We have had nothing quite so bad in India since 1878.

"As to India's desire for what is called 'freedom,' it is at least open to question whether the complete personal liberty enjoyed by the subject under a thoroughly benevolent despotism, like that of India, is not better than the risk of Bolshevism, of which we have had some experience lately in Russia. 'Are people not better off, more prosperous, *more free*, and *more safe*, to say nothing of *more tranquil*, as part of a strong Power, than under the old régime?' (Mr. Mullett Meyrick in 'Japan's Work in Korea'). Mr. Gandhi complains of our neglect of education, but it is doubtful if more can be spent profitably than has been allotted every year (Cf. *ASIATIC REVIEW*, p. 263); at the same time I should be quite prepared to encourage 'Swadeshi' schools, just as missionary and other private schools are encouraged by the Indian Government if they can be got to accept the Government terms."

The *Bengalee* of July 31, 1921, in a leading article devoted to Mr. Rice's article in the July issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, entitled "Lord Reading's Task in India," writes as follows:

"At the top we may be all right, or nearing a status of 'equal citizenship,' but we lack the rights of citizenship at the bottom. Lord Reading must not overlook it, the Indian people are completely at the mercy of the Indian bureaucracy and police, in spite of the new reform scheme. A member of the Executive Council of any Provincial Government may make and unmake men, change and initiate policies, and turn down and scotch popular projects, a chowdika becomes the easy master of a village and may hold its whole population in his grip."

The September issue of the *Persia Magazine* contains a very instructive article by Mr. Armitage-Smith on the situation in Persia. He writes:

"The peasantry of Persia are laborious and docile; the upper classes are amazingly intelligent and amazingly courteous. But Persia cannot stand alone. Its military weakness and its lack of communications and, I say without hesitation, lack of solidarity, combined with a vast amount of social injustice and maladministration, render the position particularly formidable when we know that there is a dangerous propaganda going on all round. Disinterested help is necessary. What is wanted is to develop and not to exploit the country, and the Persians know the difference. What is needed is to guide rather than to lead. What is wanted in the advisers, if Persia will have advisers, is insight and sympathy. What is wanted in the Persians themselves is a real and not a sham nationalism, not a nationalism that takes foreign money and abuses foreigners, but a real awakening of the national spirit and a will to survive. I have told all my Persian friends and colleagues, many of whom I esteem greatly both for their ability and integrity and their love for their country, that only Persians can save Persia. But I think myself that a few disinterested Englishmen can help them. It remains to be seen whether Persia thinks the same."

FRENCH VIEWS

The French reviews are paying increased attention to Indian affairs, and we quote the following conclusion from a long article on India in the August issue of *L'Asie Française*, in which Sir Valentine Chirol's articles in *The Times* are discussed:

"Ainsi se termine cette longue enquête, menée sans parti pris par l'homme qui connaît le mieux l'Inde d'aujourd'hui. Le lecteur français aurait souhaité qu'elle fût moins dispersée, que l'auteur ne revînt pas plusieurs fois sur la même question et n'en traitât pas de différentes dans le même article. Telle qu'elle est, cette étude sans coordination a gardé la fraîcheur et la sincérité de pages écrites sur place et au jour le jour. Elle nous donne des renseignements précieux sur tous les grands problèmes actuels: . . . rien n'a échappé à ses investigations."

"Nous suivrons attentivement, mois par mois, le développement de toutes ces questions, dont dépend le sort de l'Inde et, par suite, celui de la mère-patrie. Nous verrons si le peuple anglais écoute les conseils de Sir Valentine. De la tournure que prendront les événements nous pourrions tirer plus d'une leçon utile: en Asie, comme en Europe, l'heure est décisive: *novus rerum nascitur ordo*.—PAUL MARTIN."

THE LATE LORD REAY

The September issue of *United Empire*, in its "Editorial Comments," contains the following interesting passage:

"Students who take delight in the coincidences of history—possibly Lord Reay himself—will have noted the curious fact that both his peerage and Bombay as a British possession were derived from the Stuarts. His views in the eighties were regarded as almost dangerously advanced; to-day, in the light of developments, they appear exceedingly moderate and quite innocuous. India's movement towards the goal of autonomy was no doubt quickened by his work in the presidency."

POETRY

FLOWERS

(Line-for-line Translation from the Russian of Krilof.)

BY DR. JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E.

AT open window of a mansion grand,
 In marble vases richly chased,
 False flowers, midst living blooms did stand
 On wire-stalks placed.
 There tossed they gaily,
 To lookers-on their loveliness displaying daily !
 A little shower began to patter,
 To Jove at once the wax-flowers turned to pray—
 That He the shower should stay.
 They scold the rain and free abuse on it they scatter,—
 "O Jupiter," they cried, "this rainfall stop !
 There's no good in a single drop.
 And what in the wide world is worse
 Than through the streets to flop,
 Where everything it doth in mud and slush immerse?"
 But Jove paid no attention to their petty prayer ;
 The rain came down in rushing torrents everywhere,
 Driving the heat afar.
 It cooled the air, nature once more revived again,
 And with redoubled verdure clothed the plain.
 Then at the window all the living flowers
 Unfolded all their beauty to the showers,
 And for the rain grew sweeter,
 Fresher and neater.
 But the poor art-made flowers have, since that day,
 Lost all their loveliness, and been thrown away
 As worthless clay.
 Of critics' zeal real talents don't complain,
 It cannot do their beauty any harm.
 'Tis only flaxen flowers that take alarm,
 And dread the rain.

“ HE CAME TO FETCH HIS BRIDE AWAY ”

*Translated from the Chinese by D. A. WILSON, I.C.S. (RETD.)**

(*The Shih* III, III, 7, 4 ; *C.C.* IV., 549 ; *S.* 27 and 341)

HE came to fetch his bride away ;
His carriages were fair,
With eight bells each that tinkled gay ;
And she was ready there.

Oh, leisurely her maidens wait,
As clouds the moon surround,—
Their splendour fills the spacious gate,
And makes him look around.

The vivid touches follow the Chinese text, and may all be read in Legge's prose. These are worthy of Homer at his best, or Shakespeare. They make us see the bridegroom across so many departed ages. We see him stepping down from his carriage, the bells still tinkling, at the house of the bride's father. We see him embarrassed by the galaxy of beauty and fashion at the gate, blocking his way, and in no hurry to let him through. He stands quietly looking round, making the best of an embarrassing situation. For the purpose of showing us again the long departed, what trash is necromancy, compared to this, the unmistakable real magic of genius ! Surely, good literature is the best thing man can make.

* For previous translations see *ASIATIC REVIEW*, October, 1920, p. 695, and July, 1921, p. 557.

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

MR. GANDHI AND DR. POLLEN

SOME FURTHER NOTES

With reference to the letter addressed to Mr. Gandhi by Dr. John Pollen, which was published in the July issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, and the reply thereto by Mr. Gandhi in *Young India* (June 22, 1921), Dr. Pollen has sent us the following extracts of his rejoinder for publication :

"(5) You maintain, without a particle of proof, that 'India is poorer to-day than it ever has been,' and this you do in face of the facts that the standard of comfort has steadily improved, and that India increasingly absorbs more than its fair share of the precious metals of the world, and spends such enormous sums on litigation, lawyers' fees, marriage festivals, temples, amusements, etc.

"(6) You insist that 'the drink evil has never been so bad as it is to-day,' although you now admit that the drink evil existed in India long before the advent of the British! Surely you must know perfectly well that smuggling and secret drinking and illicit distillation have been consistently discouraged by the British and partially, but, unfortunately, not wholly, prevented. Yet still you insinuate that the sole object of the British system is to raise an ever-growing revenue from encouraging the vices of the people. You say: 'Dr. Pollen has the effrontery to suggest in the face of an ever-growing drink revenue that the present administration discourages excessive drinking.' Yes, I have this effrontery, and assert this fact most positively with all the effrontery which has been aptly named 'the effrontery of truth.'

"(7) You assert that 'India is held in the last resort by a system of terrorism.' This I strenuously deny. India is held by India's own consent for India's own good, and by something far higher and nobler than the sword or terrorism—by the grace of God and by faith in the good faith of the British people.

"Finally, you suggest to me that 'an average income of Rs. 2-4-0 per head per month will not feed, clothe, and house the poorest amongst the poor' (of course I agree—save in the case of infants), and you go on to insist that the 'average income' per head in India falls far below even this 'for the masses of poor men.'

"But, at the same time, you tell us that in your model 'non-co-operation' village of Sisodra you were able, apparently without difficulty, to collect for 'The Tilak Swaraj Fund' a purse of Rs. 2,000, which, you say, 'works out at the rate of Rs. 1-8-0 per head.' I wonder how you

were able to get so much for such a purpose out of poor men whose average income, you say, falls below Rs. 2-4-0 per head per month! But the truth seems to be that the average income of the poor in any community has never yet been accurately ascertained—nor is it indeed anywhere ascertainable with any exactitude.”

LIGHT ON INDIA FROM CHINESE RECORDS

THERE are few countries of Asia whose history cannot be made a little clearer here and there by references culled from the Chinese archives, and Mr. Molony's interesting paper upon Kashmir in the July number of this journal is yet another instance in point. I published in the first number of a missionary journal called *China* (October, 1903) an account of King S'îladitya's dealings with China; in the year 641 he adopted the title of King of Magadha, and decided to open up relations with the newly-founded T'ang dynasty. This monarch must be the Harsha S'îladitya mentioned by Mr. Waddell in the January number of the *ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* for 1911 (pp. 40-50). The Chinese have plenty to say about Asoka, Huvîska, and other Kusan Kings of Gandhara, to whom Mr. Molony only casually alludes; but the first clear mention of Kashmir or Kashmira as an independent kingdom occurs in the year 713, when an envoy was sent to the Chinese Court; in 720 King Chên-t'ô-lo-pi-li (Tchandrâpîda) received a diploma, and on his death his brother, Muk-to-pit (Muktâpîda), was invested by the Emperor, an intermediate brother, Tarâpîda, having died while these negotiations were going on. In the *Historical Review* for October, 1905, I have endeavoured to explain from Chinese records the earlier history of the Kabul valley, and the doings of the various Turkish and other dynasties akin both to the Iodo-Scythians and to the earlier and later Turks, whose rulers have held sway over the Kipin (Cophene) and Kashmir regions. The French sinologists, MM. Chavannes and Pelliot, have also published much miscellaneous matter throwing strong light upon this obscure subject. It is the *Historical Review* paper that I think will most interest Mr. Molony.

E. H. PARKER.

A PERNICIOUS REVIVAL

To the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

SIR,

May I draw your attention to a pernicious revival of a cruel and barbarous sport, which reflects infinite discredit upon the Western World, and is bound to be deeply prejudicial to European influence in the East. I refer to the revival, under the name of bull-fights, of those sanguinary contests between armed men and animals, which formed so prominent a social feature of decadent Rome.

A few weeks ago I attended one of these so-called bull "fights" in Spain. The impression made upon me was terrible. It was on a Sunday afternoon. The immense stone arena was crowded with men and women

in holiday mood. The bull, a small but splendid specimen, was turned into the arena. He was immediately surrounded by a score of gaudily clad men, who fluttered immense coloured cloaks in front of him. Dazzled by the elusive target, he ultimately turned and charged one of the half-dozen horses which were being ridden slowly round for that purpose. Instantly the unfortunate horse was disembowelled. The rider did not dismount. The creature was forced to stagger on, bleeding and its entrails hanging out. A second horse—poor faithful friend of man—was similarly served. When the bull began to show signs of exhaustion, a man, armed with two long barbed spears, advanced and plunged them into his back. He roared with agony and tried to shake them out, but, being on the harpoon principle, they stuck fast. After more play by the cloaked men, and more ripping of horses, the bull was subjected to further abominable torture. By this time I was blinded by tears, but I could hear his agonized bellowing, and the piteous shrieks of the horses.

I come from India and know what a disastrous effect such a spectacle would have upon Jains, Hindus, Sikhs, Gurkhas, Buddhists, and all those teeming millions of the East, to whom animal life is sacred as a gift shared in common with man from the Divine Creator. Can we not, in the name of our common humanity, and for the honour of the West, make a protest?

Professional bull-fights, as at present practised, originated in the eighteenth century. They were not frequent. Special royal sanction had to be obtained on each occasion. Soon Charles IV. prohibited them altogether as barbarous and demoralizing. No bull-fight had taken place for many years until Napoleon's invasion of the Peninsula, in 1808. His nomination of his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, to the Spanish throne was not favourably received. In order to popularize his rule King Joseph revived the obsolete practice of bull-fighting. Now there are over two hundred vast stone arenas in Spain, where bull-fights are held on Sunday afternoons and in honour of special festivals. The practice has crossed into France, where arenas have been built at Bordeaux, Toulouse, Arles, etc.

In order to study the working of Western civilization more students are annually pouring into Europe from the East. Christian missionaries have familiarized them with Christian ideals and theories, so that it will be a severe shock to them when they are introduced to this Christian sport. The dangerous consequences of such a revelation are too serious to be disregarded.

CLAIRE SCOTT.

September 6, 1921.

THE MANDATES IN THE NEAR EAST

To the Editor of the "ASIATIC REVIEW."

UNIVERSITY OF STRASBOURG,
STRASBOURG, BAS-RHIN, FRANCE.

DEAR SIR,

In its issue of February 26 *The Times* was good enough to publish a short note from me anent the grave questions raised during the discussion concerning the so-called mandates to be given by the League of Nations

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to France, in connection with Syria, and to Great Britain, in connection with Mesopotamia. I am glad to accept your kind offer to allow me some space in which to make a further plea in the same sense.

I use the word "plea" advisedly. As an American citizen—though of English birth—it is quite out of place for me to give advice. If the Monroe doctrine—pushed, sometimes, to an unreasonable point—is good for us Americans *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world, the retort is proper that a similar doctrine is valid for the rest of the world *vis-à-vis* America. And the French and English taxpayers have the right to say that, as they are the ones who are called upon to pay the taxes which make, for the present at least, such mandate policy possible in those countries, it is for them to "call the tune." But the friends of the Allies may claim the right to ask of these same taxpayers if they realize fully to what the policy leads, which is recommended to them on the hustings and in the newspapers, to "get out" of Syria and of Mesopotamia. In a recent communication to *The Times* (February 4), Lord Sydenham says that "if we [Great Britain] retire, we must bring back the Turks." I feel that we ought to go farther than this, and say that if the French and English do retire someone certainly will come in; and that someone will be the German—a name that sounds at this moment much worse than does that of the Turk.

The British have created—for political purposes which, at the time, were possibly justifiable—a kingship in the Hejaz; but how insecure this throne is as yet may be seen from the power still wielded in the Peninsula by the Emir of the Nejd and by the Imam of the Yemen. In Mesopotamia nothing stable has, as yet, been reared; and it is quite unthinkable that it can be governed again from Constantinople and fall into the administrative lethargy in which it was sleeping itself to death prior to 1914. That the Kurds will settle down into an organized government can only be believed by those who know nothing at all about the wild, fighting life led for centuries by these hardy mountaineers. That Syria will calm its inter-racial and inter-religious quarrels in the Divân or around a council-table is an idea that can come to the mind only of those who know nothing about the unending quarrels there—quarrels within quarrels—that have set Mohammedan against Mohammedan, Christian against Christian, and Christians in general against Mohammedans. Some strong hand—or hands—is needed to guide these peoples towards modern statehood, even if that strong hand is actuated concurrently by motives of self-interest and of self-assertion. And some strong hand is needed, also, to keep a tithe only of the promises so solemnly made by Anglo-Saxondom towards the Armenian people—promises which Lord Bryce, with his accustomed directness and authority, has called again to the mind of the British and American peoples.

The Near East cannot yet stand upon its own legs. It is still the play-ball of fate, if not of the European Powers. I have read somewhere that Sir Rabindranath Tagore has made the statement recently that the East does not like our Western civilization; that it desires to live its own life; and that it does not wish to have Western methods forced upon it. This is as vain a statement as is that of many of my own countrymen, who

imagine that America can hold herself aloof from contact with the affairs of Europe. The engine and the steamboat, the flying-machine and the under-sea craft, have so linked up the different parts of the world that a living apart is hardly possible for any one portion of it. And, though the last six years of Europe's life may give a fillip to the disdain which certain Easterners profess to have for the West, it is evident that the line of development leads not backwards to that from which we have come, but forwards to that which we discern only dimly on the horizon. The splendid aspect that is offered to us at this moment of the ordered and steady development of Egypt towards the beginnings of its constitutional life, and of India commencing to take the same road, leaning upon the strong arm of the originator of constitutional government, gives assurance to our belief that similar movements can be set going in both Syria and Mesopotamia under similar conditions.

When I say that the Near East stands in need of a helping hand, I mean nothing in the least derogatory of Mohammedan civilization, of Islam as a moral force, or of Arabic and Turkish letters as an agency for expressing that which is best and is highest in our nature. I have for the last thirty years or more been a defender of Islam against the many aspersions cast upon her by those who know her least; and as I write these lines, the beatic figure of my dear friend the late Muhammad Abdu, the Rector of the Aghar University, stands clearly before my eyes. It is simply the question of the adaptation of an older civilization to modern methods and standards. Islam has done this so often in the past. She can do it again; but, for this, help is needed.

Many years ago the Germans became aware of this fact. They set out—with the systematic thoroughness that characterizes their every effort, whether for good or bad—to give this help. The *Drang nach Osten* was a position taken with deliberation, in a scheme which looked forward to capturing the leadership of the world. During the last visit that I was privileged to make to the Near East, in 1910, this was apparent everywhere—in Constantinople, in Palestine, in Syria, and in Mesopotamia. It was based upon a careful and precise study of the Mohammedan position, a sympathetic study, that brought Germany into intimate contact with the leading forces of Islam, whether in Constantinople, in Bagdad, among the Senoussi, or in far-off Morocco. There is no need for me to enumerate the various stages in this campaign for position. They are all well known to the readers of your journal. But it must never be forgotten that German scientific work is only the basis upon which the German political fabric is built up. This prostitution of a noble calling, in which science jostles politics, has caused a general distrust to be felt whenever German scientific endeavours are put forward in a degree more than ordinary.

This is just what has occurred in matters relating to the Near East. The difficulties put in the way of securing books published in Germany are only now beginning to be lifted. They reveal how steadily German Orientalists have persevered at the task of studying the Near East, of writing about it, and of bringing the information gathered home to the German people. In ordinary times this would be a matter only for

cordial congratulations and for possible imitation. One would wish to congratulate a people that could find time and leisure in the very midst of a terrific war to publish huge volumes upon the architecture of the Mohammedans in Egypt, in Syria, and in Mesopotamia, to put forth series of textbooks dealing with the Turkish language and with Turkish literature, to establish a "Society of Friends of Turkish Literature"; the while its opponents were staggering under a burden that brought the work of similar societies in their enemies' countries almost to a standstill, and made it wellnigh impossible for them to publish the few reviews dealing with these subjects that had seen the light hitherto.

But in view of the truculent attitude adopted by the Germans towards those whom they had forced to become their enemies, these facts call a halt upon our goodwill and upon our admiration. The Germans have cast aside none of their pretensions. Though the Reich at present possesses no colonies, seven *Zeitschriften* dealing with colonial matters are still being published; and the former *Staatssekretär*, Dr. Solf, has only recently thrown his glove into the arena, demanding colonies for Germany and a general redistribution of Africa. All these facts raise in us a just concern regarding the use to which this work done will be put. When once the bars are lifted, when the stronger hands of France and of Great Britain are taken away and the weaker rule of Turkish bureaucracy is put in their stead, the inrush of the Germans into Syria and Mesopotamia (not to speak of Asia Minor) will be as inevitable as was their inrush into Belgium in 1914. Once more the Turkish fez will be used to cover the German head; and under the cloak of a misinterpreted and misrepresented Pan-Islamism the old Pan-Germanism will commence its ruthless propaganda. Under the veil of scientific research, the old lines of infiltration, by means of which the subtle influence of Germany was brought into the Near East, will be found again, new ones will be traced out, and we shall find ourselves suddenly in view of an accomplished fact—a fact that will be all the more stubborn to overcome because it has taken note and warning of the things that have happened and which, most unfortunately, the Allies are too prone to forget.

The French and the English taxpayer may be forced to throw off from his shoulders some of the burdens that now weigh so heavily upon him. He will have to choose which these shall be; and it is not for the outsider to indicate which he ought to choose. But surely the outsider will be pardoned if he insist upon the taxpayer knowing what the result of such action will and must be.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL

(of Columbia University, New York City).

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ST. MÊNA OF EGYPT

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

SOME years ago the British Museum acquired a manuscript written in familiar characters, but in a language not then known. From the Greek proper names which occurred in it, Sir Ernest Budge recognized that it dealt with St. Mênâ and the Nicene Canons; he also discerned that it was written in an ancient Nubian dialect. The trustees wisely decided to make the work immediately accessible to scholars, and an excellent facsimile was prepared. Sir Ernest Budge took the opportunity of collecting from other manuscripts all that is known of the life and martyrdom of the saint, with the result that a compact volume appeared, containing a general Introduction and a translation and commentary on the various texts, Greek, Arabic, and Ethiopic, in which the life of St. Mênâ has come down to us.* To the Nubian text we shall revert later, as it has since been deciphered, and proves to be the narration of a miracle wrought by the saint; but before discussing this it will be interesting to summarize the principal facts in the life of St. Mênâ as we learn them from the manuscripts translated in the British Museum publication.

Towards the end of the third century of the Christian era there lived in the city of Alexandria a certain Eudoxius and his wife. To their great regret, their union was blessed by no child, and they migrated to Phrygia. Eudoxius'

* "Texts relating to St. Mênâ of Egypt and the Canons of Nicæa in a Nubian Dialect," with Facsimile. Edited by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., etc. Printed by order of the Trustees, British Museum, 1909. Price 12s. net.

wife betook herself to the church on the festival of Our Lady Mary, and saw the mothers bringing their children to be blessed. In the anguish of her heart she made entreaty, and her prayers were answered by the birth of a son, who was called Minas, or Mēna. The boy grew up in the Christian faith, and at the age of eleven became an orphan and the inheritor of his father's wealth. He trained himself in great religious fervour and bestowed his property upon the poor, and withdrew from the world to a life of fasting and prayer. His father's successor induced him to join the army, in which he quickly rose to high rank.

Early in his career the Emperor Diocletian issued an edict, calling upon all men to worship his pagan gods, and proscribing Christianity under pain of torture and death. On hearing the edict, Mēna fled to the desert, and lived an ascetic life among the beasts; but on revisiting the city he was seized, and carried before Phyrus the prefect. Mēna stoutly protested his Christianity, and was put in irons. Phyrus pleaded with him to surrender his belief, and on his obstinate refusal to do so, the angry prefect ordered him to be flogged. So brutally was punishment inflicted that the ground was reddened with the blood from Mēna's wounds. Undaunted by suffering, Mēna remained steadfast, and was punished by a series of tortures, each more cruel than the last. He was scraped with sharp irons, his body was burned with lighted torches, he was dragged over sharp iron spikes, and beaten again. Phyrus became increasingly incensed with the unavailingness of his inflictions, and finally ordered that Mēna should be taken outside the city walls and beheaded, and his body thrown to the flames. The sentence was carried out, but the body was rescued from the fire by faithful friends, and anointed and dressed in fine linen and carried to his native country.

The troops of Mareotis took the body with them by sea to Alexandria, and whilst on the ship the corpse was surrounded by long-necked monsters, with heads like those of camels, that rose from the sea and bent towards it. Flames

darted from the saint's body, and the monsters withdrew into the deep. When the troops once more left Alexandria to return to Mareotis they again wished to take the body with them, but on placing it upon a camel for transport to the ship, the animal refused to budge. In spite of beatings, each camel in the camp successively refused to move, and this was recognized as a sign of God's refusal to allow the body to leave Alexandria. A tomb was built, and the body laid within it. A neighbouring well was endowed with medicinal virtues by the influence of the saint's body, and man and beast were healed by it. Amongst the sick who came there was the daughter of the King of Constantinople, who was cured of leprosy, and was visited by the saint in a dream. Her father in gratitude built a church on the spot, and a town grew up around it. Many miracles were wrought by the beneficence of the saint, whose fame spread far and wide.

Such, briefly, is the history of St. Mēna as the Greek and Arabic texts relate it. The Ethiopic version, whilst covering the same ground, is much more detailed. It is related that when the camels refused to bear their burden from Alexandria, the General in charge of the troops, Athanasius, having to relinquish the body of the saint and the miraculous protection it afforded him, had a picture executed on a panel and laid upon the body to absorb its mystic properties. This picture Athanasius carried about with him on all his travels. In connection with this picture, the text gives us the interesting detail that the saint is represented in military attire, and at his feet are the five camel-like monsters that rose from the sea. This device has been preserved in the oil-flasks in which pilgrims took away sacred oil from the shrine, and from the numbers of moulds and flasks excavated from the site it would seem that great numbers of pilgrims visited the shrine and bore away a memento of their visit. The British Museum has some fine specimens of these flasks, several of which are figured in the publication.

In course of time church succeeded church, and the veneration of the saint continued until the church and town were pillaged and destroyed when the Arabs conquered Egypt.

We now come to the consideration of the Nubian text. When the manuscript was examined it soon became evident that it was written in a language previously unknown, although traced in familiar characters—namely, the Coptic forms of Greek letters. Although a number of Greek words were recognizable in it, it was apparent that the language was neither Greek nor Coptic, and various scholars attempted to study and decipher it. Mr. Griffith, of Oxford, collected all the known material in the Nubian script, and submitted it to a prolonged and detailed scrutiny. The result of his labours is an elaborate memoir,* wherein he not only translated the documents, but drew up a grammar and vocabulary of the ancient Christian Nubian language.

It is thanks to the efforts of this scholar that the leaves of the Nubian manuscript, admirably facsimiled in the British Museum publication, now yield up their secret. The text contains the account of a miracle wrought by St. Mēna, which is of unique and surpassing interest, and which may be summarized as follows :

A certain woman of wealth, living near Alexandria, was much troubled because she was sterile, and all her household and animals also, down to the fowls. Hearing of the miraculous powers of St. Mēna in the church of Mareotis, she vowed that if one of her fowls would lay an egg, she would deposit the egg in the shrine of the saint. In due course an egg was laid, and the woman, accompanied by a servant-girl, took the egg down to the water in search of a boat to take the egg to the church at Mareotis. She hailed a boatman, and begged to be carried to her destination. The boatman expressed surprise that a pagan should wish to visit the Christian church, but when matters were ex-

* "The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period." Berlin, 1913.

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plained to him he volunteered to take the egg and deposit it himself. The boatman put the egg in his cabin and forgot it, and on his return journey he found it again ; but, faithless to his promise, he cooked the egg and ate it. The boatman (who was a Christian) came ashore one Sunday to receive the Sacrament, and whilst in the church he had a vision of St. Mēna, who was mounted on a white horse and making at him with a spear. The boatman betook himself to the image of the Virgin and besought protection. St. Mēna seized the man, and the egg he had eaten became a live fowl, which came out from him and crowed. And the saint carried the fowl to the woman's house and bade her put it amongst the other fowls, which then should become fruitful ; he, moreover, foretold the birth of a son to her, whose name should be Mēna. He likewise told her that her serving-maids and cattle should become fruitful, and bade her receive baptism in the Christian faith. In due time all was fulfilled, and the child and all the family and the household received their baptism and embraced the faith of the Church.

On one page of the manuscript is a picture of the saint on horseback as he appeared to the boatman. He wears a military cloak and carries a spear, which the boatman has grasped in his endeavour to ward it off. Beneath the legs of the boatman the head of the fowl may be seen.

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F. R. SCATCHERD

I.—THE PROBLEM OF ASIA MINOR*

WHEN the Nationalist insurrection broke out, the Greeks were of opinion that they could have dealt with it easily, but were not permitted to do so. The mediation proposals of the Allies were rejected by both sides; therefore the choice lay between compulsion and allowing the Greeks and the Turks to fight the matter out. We were in a position to compel only the Greeks, not the Turks, and it was felt both sides would be more easily persuaded when they had proved their respective limitations; so the Allies chose the latter course, as a writer in the *Near East* points out. He then goes on to condemn the "senseless boycott of King Constantine," by which Greece is debarred from that intercourse on an equal footing which is essential to reasonable negotiation:

"If Greece take the Allies at their own word, then the war in Asia Minor is exclusively a matter between herself and the Turks. . . . If, on the other hand, she is reminded that she is a member of the Great Alliance, and that the future of Turkey is the concern of all the Allies, less will be heard of Greek 'claims.' As things are, Greece, through the personal pique of the members of the Supreme Council, has been dropped from the Alliance, and the world is treated to the unedifying spectacle of the organization that defeated the Central Powers confessing its impotence to deal with her."

Does this imply that the able writer of the above article is deploring the injustice done to Greece, mainly because it threatens to leave Turkey at her mercy?

II.—MR. AMEER ALI ON GREECE AND TURKEY†

The world is realizing the great sacrifices Greece is making, and will be forced to make, if she continues in what she believes to be the cause of justice and freedom. Thus Mr. Ameer Ali, in a weighty letter, writes:

"The wisest course—wisest in the long run to Greece herself—would be to call upon her to evacuate Asia Minor and Thrace. She is bleeding herself to death in her oft-repeated attempts to conquer Western Asia; she maintains a garrison 100,000 strong in Thrace; she will have to maintain an army equally strong to hold even Smyrna and the hinterland. How long can she survive this tremendous drain on her resources in men and money? It would be truer friendship to compel her to abandon Thrace and Asia Minor, which were assigned to her under a misconception, and to concentrate her undoubted energies and the capacity of her people to the development of the large territories that will still be left to her."

III.—GREECE CLAIMS TO BE FIGHTING THE ALLIES' BATTLES

On the other hand, the Greek Minister, in an interview to the Press‡ on September 15, declared: "We are fighting your battles, and are again securing the safety of the Straits. Last April reports had been spread that

* The *Near East*, August 25, 1921.

† The *Times*, September 19, 1921 (reply to the leading article, "Greece and Turkey," in The *Times*, September 14, 1921).

‡ The *Scotsman*, September 16, 1921.

the Greeks had been severely defeated and would soon be pushed into the sea. No alteration, however, was made in their plans. The armies were reorganized, and heavy artillery brought up in preparation to strike an effective blow at the enemy. The Turkish Army had heavy guns, and was not a mere agglomeration of bands. The aim of the Greek General Staff was not Angora, but the destruction of the Turkish Army. The Greeks are relieving the Allies' armies in the East, securing the safety of the Straits, and were the Greek Army not active an Allied Army of some 150,000 men would be needed."

IV.—"THE GREEKS ARE IN GREEK IONIA BY EUROPEAN MANDATE"

In a letter, the Greek Minister in London, Mr. A. Rizo Rangabé, attempts to answer the statements made in the leader* that called forth Mr. Ameer Ali's letter quoted above.

Mr. Rangabé states that it is a misconception of the real position to state that the Greeks have been pushed into the Anatolian campaign by the ambition of their leaders and an overmastering impulse of far-reaching Hellenic nationalism.

"Is it not an historical fact that the Greeks are in Greek Ionia by European mandate?" asks Mr. Rangabé. And even though such mandate be lacking in the present campaign, the Greek nation is fulfilling a "higher, nobler, though unwritten mandate," well worth any sacrifice. She was compelled "to fight single-handed in order to impose upon a common enemy respect for a compact . . . bearing the signatures of all the Allied Powers." [It must be added that the Treaty had not been ratified by all the Allied Powers.]

The *Times* writer observes that "in the Hellenic peninsula and the islands of the Aegean there must be many who are thinking as they count up the cost in blood and treasure. To what purpose was this far thrust into the terrible unknown?"

Mr. Rangabé replies with impassioned eloquence that throughout the ages Hellenic history has been that of an alternate battle and martyrdom for liberty, and that in to-day's struggle we have proof that "there is no lack of volunteers in defence of this sacred cause."

Further, Mr. Rangabé insists that all this bloodshed has not been in vain, since "it is due to these very Greek sacrifices in Anatolia that the Kemalist menace to Constantinople and the Straits has been removed."

V.—SIR VALENTINE CHIROL'S WARNING

Sir Valentine Chirol sounds a warning note that statesmen should not allow to pass unheeded when he tells us that it should be remembered that even the utter defeat of the Greek armies would not ensure a peace over which one could rejoice, seeing that it would mean the flood of misrule, closing down once more upon the Mohammedan as well as the Christian populations, "for whose emancipation from Ottoman oppression we shall have fought in vain, just as we have already had to watch, impotently, the wretched Armenian nation perishing, before the ink has had time to dry on the treaty by which we professed to consecrate its salvation."†

VI.—MR. HAROLD SPENDER ON "THE RESURRECTION OF GREECE"

Mr. Harold Spender,‡ under the above heading, draws a parallel between the struggles of Greece towards independence and the Greek

* *The Times*, September 19, 1921.

† *The Times*, September 20, 1921.

‡ "The Resurrection of Greece," the *Contemporary Review*, August, 1921.

efforts to-day in Anatolia. Why, he asks, was it that the peoples of Europe insisted on saving Greece despite the apathy of statesmen and the opposition of chancelleries? What redeemed Greece from her leaders' quarrels and her generals' blunders but the desperate heroism of the masses, the self-sacrifice of the multitude, culminating in the siege of Missolonghi, when a whole population chose death rather than surrender to the Turks?

"That was the glory that was Greece." That was the splendour that inflamed Europe with a kindred enthusiasm.

"To-day we are face to face with what is essentially the same situation. In front of the stage we see the same factionousness of the Greek parties, the same incurable turbulence of her politicians. But in the background there stands the same wonderful people, remaining under arms long after the rest of Europe has been demobilised, unstinted in sacrifice, unsparing in endurance, and making the same appeal to us as their forefathers made a hundred years ago—the appeal of light against darkness, of the future against the past, of freedom against slavery.

"We are all Greeks," wrote Shelley, in that magnificent way of his, in the splendid Preface to 'Hellas,' written in the first year of the War of Independence. 'We are all Greeks: our laws, our literature, our religion, our arts have their roots in Greece.'

"That is the unbreakable tie. That is the immortal bond."

VIA.—THE MARRIAGE OF M. VENIZELOS

The ex-Greek Premier, M. Venizelos, was married to Miss Helena Schilizzi, a Greek lady well known for her charm and generosity, at St. Pancras Registry Office on September 14, and the civil ceremony was followed the next day by the religious service, which took place according to the rites of the Greek Church at the London house of Sir Arthur and Lady Crosfield.

M. and Madame Venizelos will take with them the sincere congratulations and good wishes of all who know them, while those who have followed the strenuous career of the ex-minister through the last two stormy decades will rejoice that, at any rate for the moment, the mantle of responsibility has been removed from his shoulders.

VII.—THE GREEK OFFICERS' WIDOWS LEAGUE

That Greece, like every other belligerent country, has its pension problems is shown by the following: Last June, paragraphs appeared in the Press announcing the foundation of "The Officers' Widows League" at Athens. This League owes its existence to the arbitrary exclusion of the widows and orphans of military officers retired before 1912 from adequate participation in the present grant of pensions. For the past three months it had been organizing daily demonstrations, "invading Parliament, the Royal Palace, and the Prime Minister's residence." On his return to the palace, on the eve of his departure for the front, King Constantine was surrounded by more than two hundred widows and orphans, when he promised them that speedy justice should be done to their cause.

The injustice complained of can be best gauged from the fact that whereas the widow of a major retired before 1912 will receive only fifteen drachmas a week, the widow of a major retired after 1912 will receive about fifty drachmas per week, and other grades in like proportion.

The feminist consciousness of Greece is being profoundly stirred and awakened by this League of sorely wronged women, and its inception will prove a momentous starting-point in the history, not only of Greek women, but of the whole of womanhood in the Near East.

VIII.—THE MAN BEHIND THE MOVEMENT

It had long been a question as to who was responsible for the skilful tactics and telling pamphlets and manifestos, circulated in thousands, and the question might have remained unanswered to this day had not an unfortunate schism in the ranks led to wild accusations and fierce reprisals, so that in sheer self-defence the leader of the movement had to come into the limelight and bear the brunt of the onslaught.

For the League was even alleged by some to be a revolutionary scheme(!), disguised as a benevolent association, by which it was hoped to enlist the sympathies of the women and thus secure their co-operation with the workers. Such baseless charges could be refuted only in one way, and that was by the publication of the genesis and history of "The Officers' Widows League."

I herewith present a summary taken from a statement issued by Dr. Drakoules, and published by the League, almost all the members of which have testified their gratitude to its founder by remaining his faithful adherents.

When, after a long absence, Dr. Drakoules returned to Greece, last March, he received numerous letters from various ladies, both known and unknown, begging him to study the question of the pensions of officers on the retired list and to consider the injustice done to the families of those, now dead, who were placed on the retired list prior to 1912. It would have been alien to his nature, indeed quite impossible for one of his character, to allow such an appeal to pass unheeded.

Anxious to ensure justice being done to these fifteen hundred families, who in consequence of the State's indifference were deprived almost of bread, he applied himself to the study of the matter, and came to the conclusion that there was no hope of redress unless these widows and orphans could be persuaded to form themselves into an association.

Dr. Drakoules therefore abandoned his researches, set aside his own occupations and interests, postponed his return to his own home, and went to infinite trouble and expense, working day and night for three months with two ends in view:

(a) To persuade these timid ladies to organize themselves into an association.

(b) By encouraging the more courageous, to enlist in their favour the sympathy and goodwill of public opinion.

Both purposes were achieved after much hard work and ceaseless vigilance in order to keep the disheartened, impatient, or inexperienced members faithful to the union.

The achievement of his double object was a source of joy to the promoter of the League, and repaid him richly for his expenditure of time and energy. The League was flourishing, the community and the authorities were enlightened as to the injustice done, and for the first time since the enactment of the cruel law, five years ago, thirty members of Parliament, to their honour, had declared they would leave no stone unturned to remove the wrong done to the widows and orphans of the dead officers.

Meanwhile Dr. Drakoules had remained strictly in the background, desiring that the activities of the movement should belong exclusively to the ladies concerned. But soon after the historic meeting of Ladies and Deputies on May 2, when a resolution was passed as to the duty of the Government in the matter, dissensions arose and a lightning attack was directed against the founder. But the majority of its members remain faithful to their benefactor, and who can doubt that when the Chamber meets in October it will hasten to redress the cruel wrongs of the widows and orphans of those who gave their lives in the cause of freedom?

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

ON Monday, October 24, the Rev. Frank Oldrieve (Secretary for India to the Mission to Lepers) is to read a paper on "The Leper Problem in India and the Treatment of Leprosy." The paper will be illustrated with lantern slides, and Sir Edward A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., will preside.

The Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Paris took place on June 16 under the presidency of Professor Senart. The Society approved the budget and re-elected unanimously the retiring Members of Council. MM. Moret and Pelliot were chosen to represent the Society at the joint meeting to which the Boston Academy has issued invitations for October 5, 1921. The following new members were elected: M. J. G. Raggi, Professor at Bangkok, and Professor Van der Leyden. The President welcomed Professor Takaichveli, of the University of Tiflis, who was among those present at the meeting. M. Deny read a paper entitled "An Unpublished Text in Turco-Kiptchak," and M. Pelliot recorded some interesting facts regarding "The Epigraphy and Phonetics contained in a Buddhistic Catechism in Thibetan Script." These two papers, as Proceedings of the Society, will be published in the *Revue Asiatique*.

FORTHCOMING ARRANGEMENTS

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES:

October 26.—"Chinese Folk-lore," by Dr. Hopkyn Rees. (5 p.m.)

November 9.—"Chaitanya and the Vaishnava Revival in the Sixteenth Century," by Rev. W. Sutton Page, B.A., B.D. (5 p.m.)

December 7.—"The Sansis, or Thieves of India," by Dr. T. Grahame Bailey, D.LITT. (5 p.m.)

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, KING'S COLLEGE:

A course of ten public lectures on Mondays at 5.30 p.m., beginning October 10—"The Græco-Turkish Question," by Arnold J. Toynbee, B.A., Koræas Professor of Modern Greek.

October 12.—"Mesopotamia," by Edwyn Bevan.

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE:

November 8.—Viscount Chelmsford on "India" at King Edward VII.'s Rooms, Northumberland Avenue. (8.30 p.m.)

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS:

October 5.—"Indian Economics," by G. Keatinge, C.I.E., at Houghton Street. (3 p.m.)

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY:

October 11.—"The Red Sea at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century," by Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E. (4.30 p.m.)

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY:

November 10.—"Travels in Turkestan, 1918-19-20," by Major W. S. Blacker. (4.30 p.m.)

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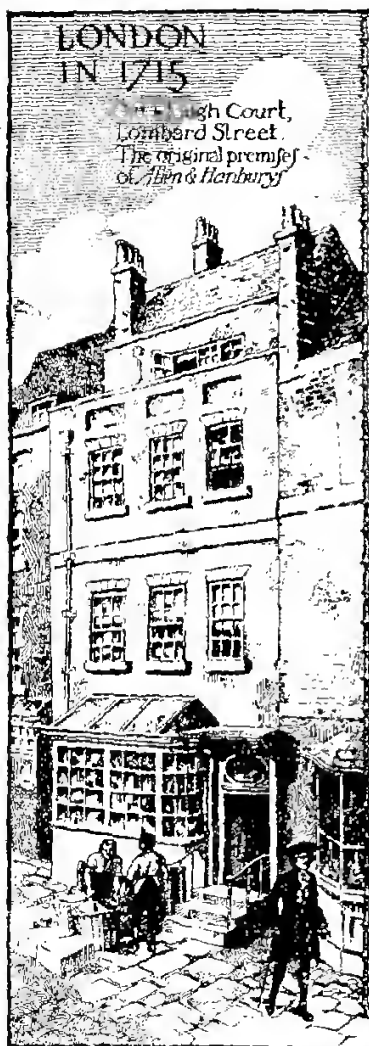
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